



Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-010
Wednesday
15 January 1992

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Third Round of Joint Disarmament Talks Set

OW1401181992 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to information provided by the Russian Foreign Ministry, the republic's First Deputy Foreign Minister, Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyayev, will be leading the Russian delegation at the negotiations on nuclear disarmament with U.S. Under-Secretary of State Reginald Bartholomew.

This will have been the third round of consultations after both sides made their far-reaching proposals on the reduction of their tactical and strategic nuclear arsenals. At the previous meetings in Moscow and Washington the delegations dealt with such issues as non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the assistance the U.S.A. could render to the former Union republics in the elimination of their nuclear weapons.

According to the information IF [INTERFAX] has received, the Americans have so far been satisfied with the progress of the negotiations. They believed "Moscow took a bold approach to the disarmament issue."

The main difference between the present and previous rounds will apparently lie in the fact that the U.S.A. will have to deal with separate delegations from Russia and the other "nuclear" states of the Commonwealth instead of a single Soviet delegation. Bartholomew is expected to visit Kiev, Minsk and Alma-Ata after the Moscow talks are over. Our correspondent was told, however, that the program of Bartholomew's visit had not yet been finally approved.

Tactical Arms Withdrawn From Belarus, Ukraine

OW1401131192 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1215 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tactical nuclear arms are being pulled out from Belarus as well as Ukraine. The withdrawal should be completed by July 1.

As for strategic weapons, under the Minsk accords they will be dismantled in Ukraine by the end of 1994. The territories of Belarus and Kazakhstan will be cleared of strategic nuclear armaments in line with the Soviet-American START treaty. Initially the strategic nuclear arsenal of the USSR was supposed to be reduced to 6,000 units within 7 years after the ratification of the treaty. However, later the Soviet side unilaterally decided to cut down the number of units to 5,000.

Academic Ponders CIS Nuclear Future, Treaties

PM1401162192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Article by Academician Vitaliy Goldanskiy, member of the leadership of the International Pugwash Movement: "The World Wants Clarity and Reliability When it Comes to the Former USSR's Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] Perhaps no other question perturbs people in all continents more than the fate of the former Soviet Union's nuclear weapons. The BULLETIN OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, which comes out in the United States, carries on its cover a symbolic clock with its hands approaching midnight. After the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles was concluded, the clock's hands were put back from 2357 to 2353 hours, and since April 1990 they have stood at 2350 hours. It seemed that after the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Reducing and Limiting Strategic Offensive Weapons was signed 31 July 1991, it would have been possible to boldly put the hands even further back. But new, unforeseen, and very serious threats presented themselves to the world at this juncture, coming this time exclusively from our side which was armed not just to the teeth but literally from head to toe....

Only Russia Has the Right to Remain a Nuclear Power in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]

At first, during the three days of the August putsch, it was not clear into whose hands the "nuclear button" had fallen, and whether it had fallen into the plotters' hands. And there was reason to fear—it is sufficient to reread the pre-putsch press statements by scientists and high-ranking officials who have linked their fate with the military-industrial complex, as well as the August junta's very first diplomatic documents.

Now the world is again alarmed, although this is for another reason—to this day there is no sufficient clarity in the distribution of the former Soviet Union's functions among the CIS member countries with nuclear weapons on their territory.

Russia has been recognized as the USSR's legal successor in its capacity as a permanent member of the UN Security Council with the power of veto. I think that it is necessary to determine as soon as possible Russia's similar capacity in the two most important international treaties offering fundamental guarantees against the threat of nuclear war. These are the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. Under both these treaties the USSR—together with the United States and Britain—was one of three depository countries (which keep the ratification documents), with the right to veto any amendments.

The number of countries participating in the Non-Proliferation Treaty had reached 141 by the beginning of

1991; France and China joined last year. This treaty clearly formulates the rights and obligations of two categories of country—nuclear and nonnuclear ones—whereby the nuclear ones are defined as those which had manufactured and exploded nuclear devices prior to 1 January 1967. There were five such countries—the United States (1945), the USSR (1949), Britain (1952), France (1960), and China (1964). Now, out of all CIS member countries, only Russia has the right to claim the title of a nuclear country. Although all Soviet nuclear tests in the first five years (1949-1954) were carried out only in Kazakhstan, the manufacture of nuclear weapons remains a Russian monopoly.

I consider it a matter of urgency to officially register the transfer to Russia of all the USSR's rights and obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and to have all the remaining CIS member countries become parties to this document as nonnuclear countries. Let me remark that, under Article 5 of the relevant Alma-Ata document of 21 December 1991, Ukraine and Belarus, but not Kazakhstan, pledged to join in such a capacity.

The United States and Britain May Review Their Stand on Nuclear Tests

The importance of legally defining the future status of our nuclear weapons is so enormous, that it would probably be worth thinking about the possibility of urgently convening an extraordinary conference of the countries which are parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (there is a provision that such conferences be regularly convened once every five years, and the treaty's future fate is due to be determined in 1995). Moreover, such an extraordinary conference could resolve or at least raise once again, and this time with particular force, one more question—that of a complete ban on nuclear tests.

The point is that it would be possible to enshrine a complete ban in law as an amendment to the 1963 Treaty—and to add a fourth environment in which tests are banned to the three already mentioned in it—under ground. There are 118 countries which today are parties to the 1963 Treaty, of which 104 have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It would be enough to get initiatives from (or the agreement of) 60 countries which are parties to it, to convene a conference to examine amendments to the 1963 Treaty—and this is perfectly feasible. True, the United States or (and) Britain may well and truly block the adoption of an amendment ensuring a complete ban on nuclear tests using their veto. But in the current international situation these countries may seriously review their unbending positions with regard to a complete ban on nuclear tests. I think that the political gain for the United States and Britain from an agreement on such a ban would far outweigh the rather arguable technical arguments in favor of continuing tests. If the United States continues to insist on their continuation, I can only repeat the proposal which I have

already made in the pages of IZVESTIYA (No. 311, 1990)—let us carry out not only U.S. and British nuclear tests in Nevada, but Russian ones as well.

Incidentally, broad scientific and technical cooperation between U.S. and Russian nuclear scientists, their joint activities to resolve the most important problems of fundamental science where the experience accumulated in both countries and the unique equipment of the leading nuclear centers may play an invaluable role, could offer the most reliable protection from the threat of our highly qualified specialists leaving for countries like Iraq and Libya.

The Way To Eliminate Tactical Nuclear Weapons

To conclude—something on perhaps the most real threat contained in our tactical nuclear weapons, which may even be put in operation without the knowledge of the leaderships of the CIS countries or of the Armed Forces, and which lend themselves far less easily to reliable monitoring, inventorying, and localization and may more easily get into irresponsible or even criminal hands. Even though a criminal may not be actually capable of setting off a nuclear explosion, the chemical explosion in the sheath surrounding each nuclear warhead will release highly toxic radioactive plutonium into the atmosphere in quantities of only three to four times less than Chernobyl.

We discussed the necessity to completely destroy tactical nuclear weapons together with U.S. scientists back in September 1991 in Beijing. The statement of the scientists' Pugwash Movement anticipated G. Bush's and M.S. Gorbachev's October initiatives and contained the following specific proposals:

1. Within one month the United States and the USSR (we would now say the CIS) declare the types, models, quantity, and location of all tactical nuclear warheads as well as the means to identify them (for example their code names and special numbers).
2. Storage buildings are designated and adapted for the supervised storage of all tactical nuclear warheads. The countries possessing nuclear weapons use all necessary means to ensure the safekeeping of the assembled weapons against any possible attacks on the places where they are stored. Permanent international supervision guarantees the weapons' safekeeping—so that they or their components are not moved clandestinely and the forces guarding them do not themselves become a threat to the weapons' safekeeping.

Within one to two months after the details of the tactical weapons' storehouses are announced, they should be transferred to these storehouses, which have been equipped with massive concrete screens, and each warhead should be encased and sealed up. When this period has expired, not a single tactical nuclear warhead should remain outside these supervised storehouses.

3. The nuclear warheads stored in the storehouses should be dismantled over a period of several years, and subsequently destroyed. It will be necessary to transport the weapons to supervised workshops where scrap metal, chemical explosive substances, and other combustible components, as well as crushed fissile materials, will be extracted.

As I was finishing this article, I heard about the meeting of the leaders of these five powers—permanent members of the UN Security Council—planned for the very near future. The main topic of the forthcoming meeting will be the fate of the former Soviet Union's nuclear weapons. Fine, let us wait and see.

Gorbachev, Kissinger Discuss Current 'Dangers'

*LD1401193992 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[Video report by correspondent A. Shashkov]

[Text] Today was the first working day for Mikhail Gorbachev in his new capacity. His office is now at 49 Leningradskiy Prospekt. This building used to belong to the Social Sciences Institute of the CPSU Central Committee and the Social and Political Research Foundation is now settling in there.

Mikhail Gorbachev began his new life with a meeting with another retired politician, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, whose words are heeded by the presidents of major countries. Evidently, the opinion of Mikhail Gorbachev will also be of value, and it would be a good thing if this was not only abroad.

[Gorbachev] Both the president and the government need to respond to the signals coming from the regions of the republic. I think that these are very serious and worthy of being taken into account, and the necessary amendments should be made.

I think attention should be paid to two points first of all, three in fact. The first is relations between the republics; the second, that taxes must be looked at, enterprises which are producing goods should be examined, and amendments should be made to taxation policy; the third, that influence must immediately be brought to bear on enterprises which have a monopoly in the economy. The dangers in all these are very great.

Foundation To Be Established

*OW1401133292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1215 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev believes it is too early to draw any conclusions eleven days after the removal of price controls. He answered newsmen's questions on Tuesday [14 January] in Moscow at the entrance of an international foundation that will be named after him. He said he thought that the Russian leaders whom he continues to consider "his colleagues" should first of all demonopolize production and protect consumers from soaring prices.

Mr. Gorbachev said his immediate task was to organize the foundation. He did not rule out the possibility that the former British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and the former U.S. President Ronald Reagan would be involved in it in one way or another.

On Tuesday Mr. Gorbachev is expected to meet with former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

News Conference on Uranium Reserves Held

*LD1401165292 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1535 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[By TASS correspondent Lyubov Dunayeva]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—The price of uranium supplied to the world market by the former USSR is set on the basis of world prices, and fully covers production costs, Albert Shishkin, general director of the Tekhnsnabeksport foreign economic association stated at a news conference in Moscow.

We use the most advanced technology for production of enriched uranium, something that has also been acknowledged by our American counterparts. However, we stand accused of having production costs for enriched uranium which are higher than the world price. Uranium exports from the former USSR are being hampered by certain interests in the United States and the European Community, Albert Shishkin emphasized.

We are able to compete seriously in sales of uranium on the world market. Reserves in the country amount to about 50 percent of world reserves, and we have 25 percent of the capacities for processing it, while our share of exports amounts to only 5-6 percent. This ought to be considerably higher, Shishkin said.

Yevgeniy Mikerin, deputy minister for atomic power engineering and industry, told journalists that charges of uncontrolled sales of uranium on the world market by former republics of the USSR, and Tajikistan in particular, are not true. There is no technology for production of enriched uranium in Tajikistan. Production of plutonium and of enriched uranium, and the whole cycle of nuclear weapons production, is located solely on Russia's territory. These are under the strictest control.

Reports of Uranium Leaked Abroad

*LD1401235292 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The story of illegal sales of uranium by the former Union and now by the sovereign states hit the headlines a month ago and today at a news conference given by the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry, the department's official position was explained to journalists. Above all, the department does not know of any instances of enriched uranium being leaked abroad in the last 40 years since rigorous controls are in place at the plants which produce it.

Second, regarding Italian police reports alleging the presence of trademarks of the Irkutsk Works on confiscated samples: this report has not been confirmed. No Russian trace has been found. Unfortunately this does not complete the matter of unsanctioned sales. The USSR and now Russia is the largest supplier and even

now the Ministry has a store of 95,000 tonnes of concentrate. Prices for the product are falling since a great deal of ore has accumulated in all producer countries.

This is related to disarmament and there is no hope of selling it in the near future. However, now independent republics such as Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan are trying to earn hard currency by putting uranium ore onto the world market at lower prices. This will lead to chaos and complete lack of IAEA control over the process. Finally it was announced that although these republics do have extraction plants, uranium enrichment plants, and works producing weapons-grade plutonium are located only on Russian territory and Russia will not permit radioactive material to be sold to Middle East countries.

Soviet Sales to U.S. Denied

OW1401233192 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2035 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The former Soviet Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry has denied accusations by American mining companies supported by the U.S. Department of Trade that Soviet uranium is being sold to the U.S. at lower prices compared to its production cost.

The ministry officials stated at a news conference in Moscow Tuesday [14 January] that selling prices of uranium are being established on the basis of the world ones which cover production costs. The officials expressed readiness to help the International Trade Commission examine these accusations.

It was also stated at the news conference that all uranium supplies from the Commonwealth republics abroad are fully controlled by the Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry.

Nuclear Experts Emigration Reports Denied

LD1401170892 Hamburg DPA in German 1524 GMT
14 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow/Berlin (DPA)—The Russians are attempting to counter the impression that specialists with nuclear know-how are emigrating abroad. A spokesman for the Moscow Ministry for Nuclear Power Engineering and Industry, Aleksandr Medvedev, today rejected Western press reports that claimed that nuclear researchers from the former Soviet Union were emigrating, particularly to countries in the Middle East, reported the Moscow news agency TASS. There were indeed cases of specialists who were working for industry abroad, which belonged to the nuclear branch. However, they were not carriers of nuclear "know-how", said the spokesman.

Albert Shishkin, the director of the Uranium Sales Authority of the former Soviet Union, said in an interview with the BERLINER KURIER AM ABEND that of

150 nuclear experts in Moscow not one had left. He denied that the individual republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) were involved in a "nuclear black market". Of course, it was also a great temptation for the CIS states to make "a quick dollar", said Shishkin. "But the black sheep presumably are not members of the government".

The Moscow Uranium Sales Authority will, according to Shishkin, retain control of sales throughout the whole CIS for two to three years yet. "For 30 years we have had a monopoly in the country. During that time not a gram of nuclear material has fallen into the wrong hands."

U.S. Officials Investigate POW Reports

LD1401093192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 0800 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] A United States State Department has made an official statement to the effect that no confirmation has been found to claims that United States servicemen declared missing in the course of the Vietnam war were in Kazakhstan.

Officers of the United States Embassy in Moscow made a trip to the Kazakh capital following a news item in the KOMMERSANT weekly saying that a United States Air Force pilot shot down over Vietnam was brought to Alma-Ata in 1967.

United States diplomats met with political and military leaders, KGB officers and local residents in Kazakhstan only to find no information on the alleged staying of United States POWs there.

PRAVDA Previews U.S. Aid Conference Role

PM1401162392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 92 p 4

[Anatoliy Karpychev report: "Does Every Little Help the CIS?"]

[Text] While the British were amazed at Moscow "turning up its nose" at the beef from the banks of Foggy Albion, and business people in Europe were suppressing their irritation at the "idiotic behavior of certain Russian officials" on this subject; while our humorists at home were delighted with the apt deciphering of the abbreviation CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]—(Christ I'm Sunk)—against a backdrop of crazy prices and the explosion of aspirations concerning the Black Sea Fleet, Washington was by all accounts preparing for the latest rescue operation. An international conference on coordinating humanitarian aid to the members of the CIS has been scheduled for 22-23 January here. An invitation has been sent to almost 60 countries. It will take place at foreign minister level.

It is hard to judge the effect this conference will have on us—whether there will be more, or fewer, humanitarian trips from the West—but...at least it's something. Every little bit helps...and if we stop our "idiotic behavior" at

home and indeed seriously get down to sorting out the people who are plundering this humanitarian aid, then lo and behold the Washington forum will leave some kind of mark.

The U.S. Administration is quite active in fighting for this conference to be held, which is very surprising. A year ago it occupied a cautious stance with respect to humanitarian assistance, and it was among the "skeptics," citing the unpredictability of events in the USSR. Now there is just as much unpredictability, but the administration is more enthusiastic. What is the crux of the matter? I believe that the clue to the latest behavior is not complex.

First of all, the actual fact of supporting the CIS will be an answer to Bush's critics at home who reproached him for being "bewitched by Gorbachev" and underestimating the republic leaders of the former Union. Second, the actual conference on humanitarian aid may be a prelude to a meeting between Western leaders and President Boris Yeltsin—he is promising to attend the summit-level session of the UN Security Council, where Russia has occupied the USSR's place. The U.S. President has agreed to attend the UN summit, which will open 30 January. So Washington is swapping one "bewitchment" for another.

There is no unified opinion on the benefit of the conference. Some people think that all in all it was "hastily concocted following months of American inactivity," and that what is needed today is not discussions but specific actions. Evidently the organizers of the conference also have no clear conception of what the Commonwealth countries need.

Concerned that the reform process in Russia should proceed peacefully, the West is promising "the moon." But these are only promises. We are seemingly being invited into the IMF, they seemingly want to see us in the EC, and they have even allowed us into the "ante-room" of NATO—the North Atlantic Cooperation Council—which is for the young democracies of East Europe and the former USSR. But the only thing is...later it will turn out that the West will impose a heap of regulations and instructions on its noble impulses which even Soviet bureaucrats will not be able to penetrate.

U.S. Red Cross, Individuals Send Support

PM1301151192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 92 p 4

[Correspondent Vladislav Drobkov report: "Americans Ready To Help Russian People Get Through Winter of Disquiet"]

[Text] Washington—The surge in inflation, the shortage of the most essential foodstuffs and medicines, and the increase in social tension in Russia are causing Americans both disquiet and compassion. In highly varied strata of society here, moreover.

The administration is finally moving to more actively promote market reform in Russia and the Commonwealth's other republics. This may be illustrated by Washington's recent decision to back their admission to the IMF and the World Bank. Had this happened earlier, the transformation under way in our country might have been less painful.

The recent restoration of our most-favored-nation status in trade, along with a number of economic and humanitarian aid programs, is also very important. Even the Pentagon has allocated \$0.5 billion from its budget. Admittedly, the lion's share of this money is aimed at the nuclear disarmament of the Commonwealth and not at market reforms or financial backing.

Calls have been heard from the U.S. Congress and political and financial circles, and in the press, for stronger measures to support Russia and the other independent republics. An editorial in THE WASHINGTON POST notes that the time has come for President Bush to personally avail himself of every opportunity to transform the crumbling socialist system into a demonstratively successful nonsocialist system. "The question for the United States, which has spent many hundreds of billions of dollars to protect itself against the Soviet Union, is this: Does it want to put a very small fraction of this sum into friendship with and the prosperity of the now-free former Soviet republics?" the newspaper writes. Many congressmen are demonstrating that the United States is actually helping itself by helping the Commonwealth restore its economy and cut nuclear arsenals.

"Western governments, the United States in particular, have hidden their heads in the sand and refused to mention economic aid," Jeffrey Sachs, the well-known U.S. economist, said. "This was quite infeasible until the last minute, but may now be feasible." Sachs welcomed the U.S. decision to help Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia join the IMF and the World Bank. In Sachs' opinion, this year Russia alone will need financial backing of \$15-20 billion. Former U.S. president Richard Nixon has also spoken of the need to provide Russia with major new aid.

There is also other evidence of the Americans' desire to help us. The U.S. Red Cross is sending a group of its representatives to Moscow with a view to easing the lives of the most vulnerable strata of the population and helping them get through this difficult winter. The Americans are also willing to help train Red Cross and Red Crescent personnel in the former Soviet republics. Many U.S. cities are collecting money, food, and medicine for Russia.

A quite unusual report came out a few days ago. The 44-year-old American Ken Wayne has returned to the United States from Moscow. He visited our country to bring his personal present—food and medicine for seven children's hospitals. Last year Wayne won more than \$9 million in a lottery. After tax deductions he receives \$367,000 per year. So, he has donated \$100,000 to help

Russian children. When I was growing up, Wayne said, we were told that the Russians are bad and we are good. Now everything has changed and we can help Russia get on its feet.

A great deal is certainly changing now in relations between our country, the other Commonwealth republics, and the United States. It is important that these changes benefit our peoples.

Commonwealth

Heads of State To Meet in Moscow 16 Jan

LD1501110992 Moscow TASS in English
1002 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Heads of state of the new Commonwealth will meet in Moscow on January 16, TASS learned today from the Russian President's press service, which said it has no agenda of the meeting yet.

Baltics

Baltic Council Meeting Yields Results, Appeals

'Readiness To Cooperate'

PM1401133192 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
7 Jan 92 p 1

[Baltic Council Appeal dated Jurmala, 5 January 1992 and signed by Latvian Republic Supreme Council Chairman A. Gorbunovs; Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council Chairman V. Landsbergis; and Estonian Republic Supreme Council Chairman A. Ruutel]

[Text] This winter is particularly complex for the population of the former Soviet Union. There is a real threat that antidemocratic forces seeking to return the world to the cold war state could take advantage of the difficulties that are arising.

The Baltic states express readiness to cooperate with the countries of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] to overcome the economic difficulties, particularly in the sphere of power generation and the population's food supply, and at the same time they urge states, governments, public organizations, and people of good will throughout the world to make this winter of trials and anxieties easier for the peoples of the former Soviet Union.

[Signed] Latvian Republic Supreme Council Chairman
A. Gorbunovs
Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council Chairman
V. Landsbergis
Estonian Republic Supreme Council Chairman
A. Ruutel

[Dated] Jurmala, 5 January 1992.

Statement on Relations

PM1401131792 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
7 Jan 92 p 1

[Baltic Council statement "On Basic Principles of Relations Between the Baltic Council Countries and the CIS Countries," dated Jurmala, 5 January 1992 and signed by Latvian Republic Supreme Council Chairman A. Gorbunovs, Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council Chairman V. Landsbergis, and Estonian Republic Supreme Council Chairman A. Ruutel]

[Text] The Baltic Council welcomes the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] as a consequence of the profound historic changes taking place in the world at the end of the 20th century.

The Baltic Council voices confidence that relations between the Baltic Council countries and the CIS countries will be built on the principles of interstate relations enshrined in the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter for a New Europe, and other universally recognized international legal acts and bilateral interstate treaties and will also be underpinned by traditions of good-neighborliness and cooperation.

The Baltic Council

believes that the development of economic, trade, and cultural relations between the Baltic Council countries and the CIS countries will have a positive effect on the peoples' well-being and will promote political stability and the deepening of the peaceful Helsinki process in a changing Europe,

and expresses confidence that the resolution of security questions by means of withdrawing all types of troops of the former Soviet Union from the Baltic states without delay will be the basis of, and an important step in, strengthening friendly relations between the Council countries and the Commonwealth countries and also strengthening international confidence and security in Europe.

[Signed] Latvian Republic Supreme Council Chairman
A. Gorbunovs
Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council Chairman
V. Landsbergis
Estonian Republic Supreme Council Chairman
A. Ruutel
Jurmala, 5 January 1992.

Points Highlighted

PM1401133992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by correspondent Oleg Meshkov: "Calling For Army Withdrawal"]

[Text] Riga—The subject of the Army has been one of the main topics during the latest Baltic Council session in Jurmala. The leaders of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have signed a document categorically demanding the immediate withdrawal of troops from these countries.

I would note that a group of experts was operating for the first time at Jurmala within the Baltic Council framework. If the demands and wishes addressed to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] leaders are fleshed out, the following points can be highlighted.

First, the Commonwealth should within a very short period withdraw from Baltic territory its citizens serving in the Army of the former USSR and prevent their being

sent to serve on these states' territories. Second, the desire was expressed for the Army to leave its weapons, military hardware, and military installations behind. It was announced that V. Landsbergis will meet with B. Yeltsin in mid-January and discuss the questions of the Army's withdrawal. Meanwhile, on the eve of this meeting, it is planned to stage a demonstration in Riga at the initiative of the Movement for Latvia's National Independence Board to protest the Army's presence on Latvian territory. The demonstration organizers intend to ring the headquarters building of the Northwestern Group of Forces with a string of the black and red flags used in wolf hunts.

Regarding the other documents adopted at the Council session I would note one welcoming the formation of the CIS and expressing readiness to develop economic, trade, political, and cultural ties.

Caucasus

Northern Area Cooperation Association Created

LD1501035992 Moscow TASS in English
1441 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Styazhkin]

[Text] Stavropol January 14 TASS—A treaty on forming the Association for Social and Economic Cooperation of Republics, Territories and Regions of the Northern Caucasus was signed in Stavropol on Monday [13 January]. The treaty was signed by plenipotentiary representatives of Adyge, Daghestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachai-Cherkessia, North Ossetia, the Chechen-Ingush republic, the Stavropol and Krasnodar territories, the Rostov region.

The association plans the establishment of direct horizontal ties between producers of industrial and agricultural products, and joint working out and the implementation of mutually advantageous programmes of the use of local resources during the transfer to the market economy. The association envisages friendly solution of ethnic problems, regional coordination of actions of law enforcement bodies, the deepening of cultural ties and the promotion of traditions in the multiethnic community of peoples of the Northern Caucasus.

Military

Admiral Discusses Control of Black Sea Fleet

LD1401151992 Moscow TASS in English
1422 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Danilin]

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—"The Black Sea Navy will gradually die off, if we fail to find an acceptable

decision and it is transferred to Ukraine," assistant commander in chief of the Navy, responsible for its exploitation and maintenance, Admiral Vitaly Zaytsev told TASS. "Such a conclusion stems from a thorough analysis of the technical prerequisites ensuring the Navy's vitality," he said.

"All the republics of the former Union have contributed to the creation of the Black Sea Navy in this or other way," Zaytsev said. "All the warships were designed by Russian designing bureaus. About 30 per cent of the surface craft and 23 per cent of the gunboats were built for the Black Sea Navy by shipbuilding yards, located on Ukrainian territory, but almost 70 per cent of all the completing parts and former Warsaw Treaty Organisation. [sentence as received]

"The technical maintenance of warships in the process of their exploitation is just as difficult as the job of building them," Zaytsev noted. "Russia's share in the overall technical maintenance of combat means amounts to 90 per cent. Most of the marine diesel propelling units, generators, motor oils, diesel fuel, mazut, etc., are also manufactured in Russia.

Any interruption in deliveries of these products will immediately tell negatively on the combat readiness of our warships. Large warships are bound to be decommissioned first, because they are intended for strategic purposes. Ukraine will find them simply unnecessary in light of the tasks its Navy will have to discharge. It is much too expensive to leave them in service out of prestige. Then the turn will come for lighter craft."

Zaytsev expressed the hope that common sense would prevail when the future of the Black Sea Navy was decided.

Military Leaders Send Letter to Kravchuk

PM1401165792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 15 Jan 92 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report on letter to Ukrainian President Kravchuk from Admiral of the Fleet N.I. Smirnov, Admiral of the Fleet N.D. Sergeyev, Colonel General of Aviation G.A. Kuznetsov, and Vice Admiral K.A. Stalbo: "Russia and Crimea"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpts] The situation that has now taken shape over Crimea, Sevastopol, and the Black Sea Fleet is attracting universal attention and causing concern. The following letter from eminent military leaders to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk is a reflection of that concern. [passage omitted]

Crimea is historically the territory of Russia and the Russian people.

Now for the main point that alarms the Russian people. In 1954, on the voluntarist instructions of Khrushchev, who was delivering a speech in Kiev in connection with the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Ukraine's

reunification with Russia, Crimea was transferred to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Russia lost an inalienable, truly Russian part of its territory. The transfer was "formalized" by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. [passage omitted]

At the end of their letter, the authors turn to problems connected with the Black Sea Fleet. As is well known, in Minsk the president of Ukraine signed a document which categorizes the fleet as strategic. The unexpected change in Leonid Kravchuk's position on this question is incomprehensible. Now he regards the Fleet as conventional arms and is attempting to make it Ukraine's property. The letterwriters draw the Ukrainian president's attention to the following.

The USSR Navy was created in the postwar years as a unified strategic integral maritime arms system capable of resolving questions of defending the country in sea and ocean sectors. The Black Sea ocean fleet is part of this unified balanced system of fleets and basing in the world ocean.

It can be controlled only from a single center, namely the apparatus of the commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces. The transfer of the Black Sea Fleet to Ukraine's command would be tantamount to breaking the chain of defensive efforts in the Mediterranean and Iberian-Atlantic sectors.

At present, the problems of defense in ocean and sea sectors are resolved not off our own coast, as was the case during the Great Patriotic War, but in the world ocean, where strategic groupings of the Western countries' navies are deployed. Nowadays questions of policing [voprosy rezhima] and of maintaining order (border protection, the struggle against smuggling) are resolved off our own coast.

To exclude the Black Sea Fleet from the unified system of the country's naval forces and transfer it to Ukrainian jurisdiction would mean undermining the defense of the Commonwealth and disrupting the prevailing parity in maritime arms in a specific section of the ocean theater.

So the efforts of Russia's sailors cannot allow this madness to happen. The regulations now speak of the subordinate's right not to fulfill criminal orders from the command. There are grounds for exercising that right in this case.

One final point, the letter writers conclude. The oath to the Ukrainian people that you, Leonid Makarovich, are demanding from the Fleet also represents an oath to the president. First, this is an incomprehensible innovation. Servicemen swear the oath just once, when they are enrolled for military service. And they have already sworn it. Second, it is difficult to swear allegiance to a president who has demonstrated such inconstancy in assessing the Fleet and, moreover, was not entirely loyal to the people's interests in August 1991. The demand for an oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian people (rather than to the CIS) smacks slightly of national bolshevism,

which is somehow rather hard to swallow given our present understanding of the world.

[Signed] Admiral of the Fleet N.I. Smirnov; Hero of the Soviet Union Admiral of the Fleet N.D. Sergeyev; Colonel General of Aviation G.A. Kuznetsov; and Hero of the Soviet Union Vice Admiral K.A. Stalbo, doctor of naval sciences, professor, and honored scientist of the RSFSR.

Black Sea Fleet Officers Confer in Sevastopol

PM1501113992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jan 92 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Dividing Up Means Destroying"]

[Text] A meeting of commanding officers of combined units of ships and submarines and of units of the Black Sea Fleet has been held in Sevastopol's Officers House. The events in the fleet connected with the exacerbated political situation were discussed during it. The meeting was addressed by the fleet's commander, Admiral Igor Vladimirovich Kasatonov. The meeting adopted a resolution which states that every commanding officer is obliged to be guided strictly by an immutable military rule in his official activity—a chief's order is the law for a subordinate—and to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of instructions and orders issuing from the Naval Chief Command. The fleet's traditions and combat fraternity are to be asserted constantly in subordinate military collectives. The meeting also resolved to support the appeal by representatives of the officers assemblies of Black Sea Fleet units to the presidents and parliaments of all the Commonwealth states and to the fleet's personnel.

These appeals express hope in correct political decisions and in the preservation of the Black Sea Fleet under a single command guaranteeing security and the protection of servicemen's rights and personal dignity. The conference of representatives of Black Sea Fleet officers assemblies resolved: "Until a final political decision is made on the status of the Black Sea Fleet, the naval flag and elements of the traditional naval symbols are to be preserved intact on ships of the fleet. The meeting believes that servicemen must not be a means of resolving interstate questions within the framework of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]."

News Conference Held

OW1401232892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2035 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The ships of the Black Sea fleet, located in the Ukrainian bases, shall not be withdrawn, the fleet commander, Admiral Igor Kasatonov, said at a press conference in Sevastopol. Mr. Kasatonov confirmed his earlier statement to the effect that the oath of allegiance to the

Ukraine should not be taken before a political decision on the division of the Black Sea fleet is taken.

Meanwhile, judging by reports from Kiev, the dismantling and removal of nuclear weapons from the Ukraine has affected the Black Sea fleet, as well. The Ukrainian defence minister informed IF [INTERFAX] that the naval military ammunition is being removed from depots and taken out of the Ukraine by railway. Subsequently, it will be eliminated by the producer-plants. To quote Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, before July 1, the Ukraine must be completely cleared of nuclear weapons.

Kasatonov Reaffirms Fleet's Indivisibility

PM1501095392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Report by A. Melnikov and A. Yerutin, from Sevastopol]

[Text] [Melnikov] The Black Sea Fleet comprises around 300 units of combat equipment. These are nuclear-capable, various-purpose ships which can perform operational-strategic tasks in the defense of our state's southern border.

The sailors who have taken the oath of allegiance to the fatherland have found themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea. What kind of fleet should they belong to? The question of their social security guarantees is also an acute one. Officers' assemblies have already been held in all the fleet's units and subunits. Admiral Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, gave a news conference in Sevastopol today. He reaffirmed that our fleet is a single and indivisible entity. This is a view shared by the majority of officers. Despite the disintegration of the Union, Admiral Kasatonov said, I cannot permit the disintegration of the fleet. Its combat readiness is in jeopardy. It is impossible for the Russian fleet to come under the hammer.

Fleet Dispute, Social Tensions Assessed

PM1401163592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Video report; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Yuriy Rostov] The question of dividing up the Army and the fleets is of very great importance, and not just because property to the value of tens of billions of rubles is involved. Incidentally, Ukraine holds the geographical trump cards in this dispute, since specially equipped naval and submarine bases are located on its territory. Such bases simply could not be built quickly elsewhere, especially not in the current conditions. And so what is at issue is whether the Fleet will be Ukrainian, or whether it will be at the service of the entire CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. From a military-strategic viewpoint it is

being decided whether CIS republics other than Ukraine, and first and foremost Russia, will be able to have realistically defensible interests in the Mediterranean in the future. Access to the Mediterranean incidentally also means access to the Atlantic. The bases in the north of Russia and the Far East cannot fully compensate for the loss of the Black Sea basin.

However, it seems that it is not military-strategic considerations which fuel the Black Sea debate in the main. The key issue is the question of Armed Forces' loyalty and... price liberalization, strange as that may seem. In the current conditions, which offer a prospect of social tension, the Armed Forces' loyalty is of fundamental importance. An oath of allegiance sworn by soldiers to any one of the CIS republics of their choice does not spell democracy, it spells the final disintegration and dismemberment of the Army. After that the Army might even take part in uncontrollable processes. Essentially, seen from this viewpoint, the Army could present the biggest threat in current conditions. As for price liberalization and the whole host of other economic troubles, it is understandable that some people want to discuss them as little as possible. For this reason the question of dividing the Army and the fleets may be bandied about even more than it deserves. The dangerous element in the debate on the army is that, objectively speaking, if the debate goes beyond a certain point, the image of the strong man, the man of duty, the patriot, the disciplined man who carries out orders, may blot out an even more topical image, the image of the socially deprived man for whose sake we are implementing the current reforms, a man who might suddenly be forgotten. Despite the importance of the debate on the Army, remember that no matter who is our idol, it is not a general.

Ukrainian Experts Arrive for Military Talks

OW1301204392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] learned that a group of 7 Ukrainian Defense Ministry experts led by Lieutenant-General Ivan Bizhan arrives in Moscow late Monday [13 January] evening for talks with a Russian delegation of military experts to start Tuesday [14 January]. These talks continue the Russian-Ukrainian meeting on military and political issues held in Kiev January 11.

Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Unified Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Colonel-General Boris Pyankov who headed a group of Russian military experts at the meeting says the two sides had the main differences over the Black Sea Fleet. Pyankov believes the Fleet even without nuclear weapons defends the Commonwealth's interests in the south-western region. Pyankov argues the fact that the two sides agreed in Kiev to abstain from any unilateral activities on the considered issues is very important. [sentence as received]

Talks Begin

*LD1401190292 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1705 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 14 January (TASS)—Talks between experts were held today at the High Command of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces in Moscow on the future of the military grouping on the territory of Ukraine. During the break between the two rounds of talks, Colonel General Boris Pyankov, deputy commander-in-chief and head of the delegation from the Commonwealth Armed Forces, told the TASS correspondent that the issue of the composition of troops designated as strategic had been precisely resolved during the discussions with his Ukrainian colleagues. Talks on air forces are making more or less normal progress. Here the stumbling block is the Black Sea Fleet.

Attempts to alter the status of the fleet on whatever pretext, including the pretext that the destruction of its nuclear weapons is envisaged in the future, cannot be seen as justifiable. The Black Sea fleet will fulfill its strategic role even without nuclear weapons, stressed Gen. Pyankov.

We are planning to round up the negotiating process on 17 January, said the commander, and to report its results to Sergey Shakhrai, deputy chairman of the Russian Government. An authorized delegation of the Russian Government will deal with the matter afterwards.

Tomorrow morning Colonel-General Boris Pyankov is to fly to Moldova on a similar mission.

Experts on Black Sea Fleet

*OW1401175392 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Moscow on Tuesday [14 January] Russian and Ukrainian military experts opened talks on the future of the Black Sea Fleet. According to IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent, the Ukrainian side insists that virtually the entire fleet, except heavy surface ships and nuclear-capable submarines, should be placed under its control. According to Ukraine, since the Black Sea Fleet has no ships equipped with strategic nuclear missiles, it cannot be viewed as strategic and cannot be included in the Commonwealth's strategic forces subordinate to a joint command.

In the meantime Russian experts and spokesmen for the Commonwealth military command believe that effective defense of Ukraine's borders and economic zone can be ensured with the help of light boats, patrol boats, light anti-submarine aircraft and helicopters. As for the Black Sea Fleet ships, they are designed to accomplish strategic tasks in the Mediterranean. Besides, more than one half of them are nuclear-capable.

Of the 300 vessels making up the Black Sea Fleet 65 are large surface ships (helicopter carriers, bit anti-submarine ships, cruisers equipped with missiles) and 21 non-nuclear-powered submarines some of which carry cruise missiles. The fleet has 300 units of naval aircraft. According to estimates, all this costs some 80 billion dollars. Besides, billions are needed to maintain the fleet.

News Conference Held

*LD1401230292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Jan 92*

[Text] Kiev reporter Leonid Milevskiy reported that on 13 January all units and ships of the border troops swore loyalty to Ukraine. On the same day Col-Gen. Konstantin Morozov, Ukraine Defense Minister, and Viktor Antonov, State Minister, held a news conference.

[Milevskiy] The news conference was devoted to the results of the talks between Ukraine and Russia on military-political questions. The text of the communique was distributed to those present. It says in part: On the basis of the provisions of the agreement between the member states of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] on strategic forces and the agreement on the armed forces and border troops, both sides state that the armed forces stationed on the territory of Ukraine consist of the following categories: First, the group of strategic forces of the CIS, excluding units of the forces of the Black Sea fleet which will be part of the armed forces of the Ukraine. Second, the armed forces of the Ukraine including the agreed group of forces which are due to be reduced, disbanded or withdrawn by reciprocal agreement, including in accordance with the obligations under the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, under international verification.

Commenting on the consultations which have ended, State Minister Viktor Antonov said: From our point of view the talks passed normally. There has been and there remains no impasse. The meeting showed that both sides are prepared for compromises. We resolved some of the questions and there are grounds to hope that all questions will be resolved.

In his opinion the CIS Navy will get not 70 percent of the Black Sea fleet, as has been reported by Reuter quoting Russian sources, but only a few ships with nuclear weapons on board. Nuclear weapons will be removed from many ships, in accordance with international treaties. Thus, they also will become part of the Ukrainian Black Sea fleet.

By the way, in order to finally coordinate specific questions a group of experts has flown to Moscow and a routine round of talks is to take place at the end of the week. As far as concerns the ships being built at yards in Nikolayev, Kerch, and Kherson, those which are more than 50 percent built will be completed and the rest scrapped. The decision on this has already been made by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry.

One of the questions concerned the Ukraine's military doctrine. Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov said that this is being worked out and in the near future will be presented to the Supreme Soviet. It is noteworthy that, in the minister's words, the Ukrainian military doctrine does not envisage an enemy.

17 Jan Army Officers' Congress Previewed

'Hardly' 'Useful'

OW1401132992 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1215 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Maj.-Gen. Aleksandr Tsalko, Deputy Chairman of Russia's National Defense Committee, believes that the general congress of army officers scheduled for January 17 will "hardly be useful." In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] he said that the choice of delegates differs from region to region: some are elected, as in Sevastopol garrison, others are appointed by the command. Neither is it clear to the general who is organizing the congress: there is no USSR Defense Ministry any longer while the Russian Federation has not formed an appropriate ministry yet.

The general does not doubt that the coming congress will heatedly debate the acutest problems of the Armed Forces. But this, he thinks, will drag the Army into politics which is impermissible in a democratic law-governed state.

Gen. Tsalko is especially alarmed by the fact that a demonstration of the most reactionary forces: neo-Communists, Stalinists and national patriots is scheduled for the opening day of the congress.

Yeltsin To Meet Commanders

OW1401033792 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2010 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As IF [INTERFAX] learned from well-informed military sources, Boris Yeltsin is expected to meet with commanders of the military districts January 16. It is believed that the meeting is caused by refusal of some officers to take part in the all-Army officers' gathering scheduled for January 17 until their demands are met. They insist that the governments of the Commonwealth member states should assume the obligation to prevent the collapse of the Army and guarantee the rights of the military, including of those who will have to change residency in case they refuse to take the new oath of allegiance.

Kravchuk, Morozov To Attend

PM1501113592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 1

[Interview with Major General G. Zhivitsa, first deputy chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces Main Staff, by Colonel A. Polyakov; place and date not given: "Ukrainian President and Defense Minister Will Attend All-Army Officers' Assembly"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] It was not clear until the last moment whether officers from the military units stationed in Ukraine would come to Moscow. Major General G. Zhivitsa, first deputy chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces Main Staff, gave the following answer to a question on this subject put to him by our permanent correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov:

[Polyakov] Georgiy Vladimirovich, what is the stance of the Ukrainian leadership and the republic Ministry of Defense as regards the Officers' Assembly?

[Zhivitsa] It has just been decided that Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk and the republic Defense Minister Colonel General K. Morozov will come to Moscow. I think that they will try and make their position on the creation of a Ukrainian army clear to the officers in the Armed Forces and the leaders of other sovereign states, and convince the participants in the assembly that there is nothing illegal going on in Ukraine as regards the army of the former Union.

[Polyakov] It is known that military commissariat workers in the whole republic have refused to participate in the assembly. What is the position in the military units? Will the officers go to the assembly?

[Zhivitsa] To my mind, it is wrong to bring up the question of the unity of the Armed Forces, which will be put forward at the assembly because, under the Minsk agreement, republics have the right to form their own armed forces. But we are not prohibiting anyone from going to Moscow; we believe that this is a matter of free will.

'Limit Has Obviously Been Reached'

PM1401140992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Jan 92 Single Edition p 1

[Article by Oleg Vladyskin: "Who Is Thinking in Imperial Terms?"]

[Text] A few days still remain until the convening of the all-Army conference of representatives of the Officers' Assemblies. But even now it is obvious that during its work the cadre servicemen will do their utmost to defend the integrity of the Armed Forces of the former USSR and in their overwhelming majority will advocate their lengthy preservation in their present form. It is possible to draw this conclusion from the numerous letters and telegrams, statements and appeals, nonetheless identical in terms of their authors' position, which have recently been reaching the editorial office from the troops and

fleets. To judge by them, the Officers' Assemblies in the units, on the ships, and in military institutions are deciding one after the other to prevent at least for the next two to three years the really emergent division of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] armed forces into several autonomous armies.

This drastic activation and toughness of the demands of people who have professionally linked their fate with military service are entirely explicable. For instance, at the delegate officers' assembly of the N.Ye. Zhukovskiy Military Air Engineering Academy which I visited last week one of the speakers—Colonel A. Akimov—expressed as follows the need of the cadre servicemen to state their position loudly. When the troops went into Afghanistan no one was interested in the officers' attitude toward this and they kept quiet. When in April 1989 Army subunits were sent onto the streets of Tbilisi they also had to keep quiet. And in January last year in the Baltic they were the silent participants in tragic events. But the limit has obviously been reached when the officers, perhaps not entirely correctly but still honestly, must tell the politicians and entire people what can and what cannot in any circumstances be done with the army. Because no one knows that better than they, the professionals.

It is probably already clear to everyone why it is now that the cadre military men have suddenly deemed it necessary to start talking out loud. With the emergence of the CIS and the prospect opened up before the former Soviet republics of achieving a supreme degree of independence, each sovereign state has acquired the right to create its own armed forces. And the fate of all servicemen without exception will depend directly on how that right is implemented. But unfortunately so far an attempt is again being made without prior arrangement to include them in the new processes.

That is why at the above-mentioned officers' assembly in the academy Doctor of Technical Sciences Aviation Major General M. Yarlykov stated: "In the flames of accidental fires to which the hasty division of the Armed Forces could lead it is primarily people who will burn. Including those politicians who embarked on such unconsidered steps."

The real possibility of such a dangerous turn of events prompted the officers' assembly of the N.Ye. Zhukovskiy Military Air Engineering Academy to adopt an appeal to heads of state, parliaments, and public, political, and religious organizations and delegates of the CIS states, Armed Forces leadership, the mass media, and all officers and ensigns.

Primarily, it says, we must suspend on the territory of the CIS the action of the normative acts which have been adopted which are destroying the Armed Forces and violating human rights. Decrees and other legislative acts concerning the Army and Navy must not be issued without considering the position of the officers' corps

until the adoption of a number of agreements at interstate level in the Commonwealth. What agreements? Agreements on the Armed Forces. On the procedure for military service and servicemen's status. On the citizenship of servicemen and members of their families. On the housing and consumer services and material and financial provision for servicemen who are serving and who are released into the reserve and also for pensioners of the former USSR Defense Ministry. On the status of the higher military educational establishments, training conditions in them, and the procedure for assigning their graduates who are citizens of the independent states belonging to the Commonwealth. In the transitional period, until a coordinated decision by the CIS heads, the Armed Forces must retain their integrity and be under a unified command. It is also deemed expedient to form a CIS Defense Council.

Here I think that we must note that in the persistent desire of the overwhelming majority of cadre servicemen to retain the unity of the armed forces of the former USSR as long as possible, in the reluctance to divide them among the CIS states some people are inclined to perceive a manifestation of the imperial way of thinking and even the resistance of the former union center whose existence, they claim, is now continuing in the form of the unified military command remaining from the destroyed superpower.

Well, if we are honest to the last we cannot fail to recognize a certain justification in these reproaches. Even at that above-mentioned academy meeting the chief of one of the courses, Colonel V. Yershov, mounting the rostrum, used expressions like "so-called independent states." Without pausing to consider that among the officers present there were many Ukrainians, he allowed himself to call people of this nationality by a slang term. Another speaker—academy teacher Colonel A. Tarasenkov (retired)—voiced entirely comprehensible alarm for the future of many thousands of professional military men in what was for some reason a dubious form: "If I served honestly in the Soviet Army but have now found myself on the territory of some independent state and have not sworn an oath of loyalty to it, have not kissed the tricolor, the yellow and blue flag, or not kissed something else, then it turns out that I may not be considered a man and may be sent packing..."

It is hard not to agree with V. Krizhanovskiy, the fully empowered Ukrainian representative in the Russian Federation, who was present at the meeting, and who resolutely protested such statements. A scornful attitude toward the flags of the sovereign states is the direct consequence of the lack of respect for the peoples who have chosen these symbols for themselves. That is undoubted.

But at the same time I cannot leave unheeded a serious blunder by the diplomat himself. Reproaching some of the officers who spoke for their incorrect statements, the Ukrainian representative said to the multinational meeting: "We have great respect for your Russian flag..."

The auditorium responded with an eruption of anger to the seemingly well intentioned phrase. Cries were heard: "The Army serves the Commonwealth... Who is really thinking in imperial terms? You will never understand us..."

The verbal exchange at the meeting demonstrated most graphically what is one of the main obstacles to the successful solution of the question of organizing defense in the CIS.

We must in no circumstances reduce everything to confrontation: us and them... We must not organize "dismantling" along national lines in the Army. That is a fatal path for everyone.

A way out can be found from any situation. Including the present situation. All that is needed is good will. The desire to listen to each other and to seek mutual understanding is essential.

Analyst on Meeting

OW1401184292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1610 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By Diplomatic Panorama military analyst M. Mayorov; from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A military source believes that the upcoming Moscow January 17 officer meeting will criticize the division of the former Soviet Union's armed forces. According to him, the function is aimed to give shape to "the collective opinion of the military" as regards plans by certain Commonwealth members to build their own armies.

For Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the criticism of the separatist sentiments at the meeting may become a strong but, probably, last argument in favor of the continued existence of undivided USSR armed forces. According to observers, the former USSR defense minister's position increasingly calls to mind that of Mikhail Gorbachev at the last state of his tenure as Soviet president, i.e., orders are given but not executed.

Observers say that in recent days the military command of the former Soviet Union has softened its line on the Black Sea Fleet. In any case, this line is not as rigid as counter claims by Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin. The leaders did not see any alternative to placing the Black Sea Fleet under Ukraine's undivided authority or giving it to Russia lock, stock and barrel. In contrast, the top military seems to have reached the understanding that a division is inevitable. This may have been what produced the compromise reached at the Russian-Ukrainian talks in Kiev last Saturday.

This may be a success in view of the fact that passions have cooled in Russian-Ukrainian relations. However, far-sighted observers claim that the agreement reached in Kiev is localized and will probably be short-lived since it has no impact whatsoever on the plans of Ukraine or other ex-Soviet republics to have own armies. During the

runup to the officer meeting, various military districts have been claiming that the division of the army along ethnic lines is dangerous. It is widely predicted that these sentiments will have the upper hand at the officer meeting that may sound the grim warning that the former USSR may become a "second Yugoslavia."

But all things considered, this may make as little an impact on the future developments as Gorbachev's "Novo-Ogarevo process" had on the salvaging of the Soviet Union.

Shaposhnikov Interviewed on Military Issues

PM1401164592 Madrid ABC in Spanish
9 Jan 92 p 30

[Interview with General Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces, by unidentified correspondent in Minsk; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [ABC] In whose hands will the nuclear "briefcase" be?

[Shaposhnikov] I would like to reassure the international community. There will be a single command over the whole of the nuclear forces, including tactical nuclear forces. One of the nuclear "briefcases" is in the Russian president's possession; the other is in my hands. The third is "in reserve." Only two operational briefcases remain. The tactical nuclear weapons will be stockpiled and stationed on the Russian Federation's territory.

[ABC] Will Ukraine become a completely nuclear-free republic?

[Shaposhnikov] It would be possible, but in that event it would be necessary to negotiate with the United States in order to maintain nuclear parity.

[ABC] Will it be possible to maintain a common defense for all the republics?

[Shaposhnikov] In the course of the next two months I will devote myself to discussing this matter in all the states. Some republics are espousing the idea of setting up national armed forces. I must confess that I do not like the idea of dividing up the Soviet Army. It would only lead to greater social differences. A transitional period of around two years will have to be set, during which we should have a joint general staff and a council of defense ministers in order to tackle the problems together. However, it is clear that a far-reaching military reform is necessary. We intend to introduce certain elements of a professional army by around 1992. For some time we will have recourse simultaneously to voluntary recruitment and conscription, but we hope to set up professional armed forces by around 1995.

[ABC] What are the material difficulties now confronting the Army?

[Shaposhnikov] Right now, the main problem is constructing housing for the officers and their families. There are over 200,000 officers' families without apartments. Only if we take care of our men will we be able to have a competent and disciplined Army with high morale.

Officers Issue Appeal on Forces Disintegration

LD1501120292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] An appeal to the presidents, parliaments, and peoples of the sovereign states and to the upcoming army-wide officers' assembly has been adopted by participants in an assembly of officers of the staff and leadership of the Volga-Urals Military District. The assembly was held in Samara, our correspondents report.

The appeal notes that the breakup of the Armed Forces will inevitably reduce the defense capability of the countries of the former Union, will lead to the disintegration of the defense industry and to an increase in the cost of weapons, and will reflect on the fate of servicemen and their families.

Those taking part in the assembly called for the advocacy of unified armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States and a unified servicemen's oath of loyalty to all the peoples of the Commonwealth.

Food Supply Problems for Servicemen Outlined

LD1401133492 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1130 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—The leadership of the Armed Forces has not managed to protect the Army from the consequences related to the liberalization of prices. This is what Major General Aleksandr Artemov, deputy chief of the Central Food Directorate of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces Chief Command, told the TASS correspondent. The Army has a fixed budget and cannot buy foodstuffs at free prices or obtain them through barter, he said, adding that attempts are being made to force it to do this in a number of regions.

In the general's view, the shortages of food in the Far Eastern Military District and in the Pacific Fleet are the result of the liberalization of prices. Soldiers' messes are feeling a shortage of meat, butter, and other foods. In Ukraine, the Army's main sugar supplier is refusing allocations to military units, although there is sugar at central depots. Personnel of the Transcaucasus Military District have been doing without food assistance from the local authorities for a year now, General Artemov noted.

In his words, the Command is trying somehow to close the gap in the military food allowance. Beginning January 1992, fruit juices have been included in conscripts' food rations and the daily portion of fish has been raised

to 120 grams. Additional supplies of other types of food were achieved a year ago from funds allocated by the then Cabinet of Ministers and from profits of agricultural enterprises of the Ministry of Defense. Next year conscripts will have an increase in meat rations from 175 to 200 grams per day.

Further on Supply Problems

LD1401220792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino
Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT
14 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] And now about the Army's problems. Talks were held today by the military experts of the chief commands of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and Ukraine Armed Forces. Commenting on the course of the discussion, head of the Commonwealth Armed forces delegation Colonel General Boris Pyankov has noted that the question on the composition of the strategic troops has been clearly decided. Talks on the Air Force are progressing more or less normally. But the Black Sea Fleet still remains a stumbling block.

But while the politicians and the military are debating about how to divide the former Soviet Army, it can get hungry. And there is nothing more dangerous than a hungry man with an automatic weapon. Major General Artyomov from the Army food supply administration has explained that the delays in the food supplies to the Far Eastern Military District and the Pacific Fleet are due to the fixed military budget. This is why it is not possible to pay free prices for foodstuffs. Shortages are now being felt in the soldiers' canteens. Ukraine, the chief supplier of sugar to the Army, refuses to supply it to the military units, although there is sugar in the central depots. And the soldiers of the Transcaucasian Military District are making do without food assistance from the local authorities for a year already.

Political & Social

Foreign Debt Repayment Responsibility Viewed

PM1501130592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 7 Jan 92 First Edition p1

[Sergey Panasenko "Viewpoint": "No Need To Voluntarily Bury Ourselves in Debt"]

[Text] The memorandum on mutual understanding regarding the debt owed to foreign creditors by the USSR and its legal successors, signed more than two months ago, is still the only, not very reliable, basis for resolving the highly complex problem of the ex-Union's foreign debt.

Rather soiled from excessive use, the epithet "solidary," used to describe the now sovereign states' responsibility for the foreign debt, does not precisely convey the meaning of the English expression "jointly

and severally." Perhaps that is why the real meaning of the signed memorandum has somehow slipped out of sight of the public.

They say that allowing ourselves to be bound by joint responsibility was the only option. But joint responsibility—if those now bound by it intend to take it seriously—is extremely inconvenient for economic maneuver. In comparison to what we should have received in exchange for this fettering agreement, the benefits have been extremely few.

As is well known, the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity has been saved from immediate bankruptcy. In 1991, its payments to service the foreign debt amounted to 16.9 billion U.S. dollars, 3.8 billion of which was earmarked for suppliers of various goods to the Soviet market. It is not hard to guess that, when allowing payments on approximately the same sum to be deferred for a year, the G-7 was primarily concerned about its own businessmen on the brink of bankruptcy, with the glorious name of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity running a poor second. This circumstance alone should have made us considerably less eager to sign any memorandum, however much Western bankers may have been breathing down our neck.

The second positive feature of the deal could have been the fact that it allowed us to immediately begin to build up new debts. It is quite possible that we really needed the food and medicines for which hard currency had been set aside on assurances from the Interstate Economic Committee (although, in that case, it would have been nice to see the fruits of these arrangements in the stores). But, since the middle of 1990, 75-80 percent of new capital invested in the USSR has been spoken for and used mainly to refinance the foreign debt. There is nothing more ruinous than borrowing money to pay the previous creditor.

In exchange for these doubtful concessions, the G-7 has received our promise to pay off our debt to the West (approximately 84 billion dollars, according to Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar) with no quibbling.

However, it is not at all clear how the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] in general and Russia in particular will be able to pay even 17 billion U.S. dollars—the amount due for payment in 1992. The "generous" deferment will now have to be added to that. It is naive to argue that these payments are roughly equivalent to the amount paid for imported grain and that the entire debt crisis will disappear as soon as the agrarian crisis disappears. The agrarian problem will not be resolved for an extremely long time (considering the way it is being dealt with), and hopes that Russia will be able to stop importing U.S. grain this year or next year are illusory.

Lightly and even carelessly (or so it seems, at least) entering into extremely unfavorable terms for the servicing of our foreign debt, we have scorned other options

that would have eased Russia's debt burden and, if played skillfully, even brought us some benefit.

An idea first proposed by the well-known financial firm Salomon Brothers and later formulated by Georgiy Matyukhin in Lausanne in September last year was ignored. The essence of the scheme was to turn part of the debt (mainly short-term and "on call" obligations) into long-term state bonds, with interest paid in rubles and hard currency.

Another option for resolving the debt crisis could have been to convert our debt obligations into shares or new credit, using gold, diamonds, or petroleum production as collateral.

One way or another, no means of consolidating our loans (i.e. making them long-term rather than short-term loans) or "exchanging" them for shares, investments, and environmental protection measures were discussed with representatives of Western financial circles. It is quite hard to explain the reason for this compliance.

As a result, we appear to have let slip a good opportunity to reach agreement on dividing the debt and organizing payments within the CIS. This question, together with the problem of domestic trade, threatens to blow the Commonwealth apart by the summer.

G-7 financiers have such great trust in the honesty and decency of the Russian Government that the memorandum does not even contain a clause prohibiting Russia from buying foreign debt obligations on the secondary debt market. This kind of proviso was made with regard to Poland in the past. Admittedly, it did not stop the Polish Government from using some of the money it received from the so-called Foreign Debt Servicing Fund to secretly buy up its own debt obligations. This practice is condemned by creditors because it essentially encourages debtors to be careless and unpunctual with their payments, as, under these conditions, their foreign debt obligations are quoted fairly low—making it considerably more profitable to secretly buy up obligations, rather than "honestly" service the debt.

Russian leaders are running a great risk if they are counting on this in their foreign economic policy. It is more likely, however, that they have no such intention. Their entire program for resolving the foreign debt problem is obviously confined to constantly reiterating on television that "we must pay our debts."

But the debtor's willingness to voluntarily bury himself in debt must not exceed the creditor's efforts to bury him.

Gorbachev Said Writing Book on Resignation

LD1401212592 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Excerpt] According to sources close to the former Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev is working on a book about the developments of last December that led to his resignation.

The RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY reports that no concrete decision has been made yet concerning his foreign tours.

In the meantime, Mikhail Gorbachev intends to stay in Moscow and concentrate on the analysis of problems facing Russia and the whole of the Commonwealth of Independent States. [passage omitted]

Media

TASS Carries Review of Moscow Newspapers

LD1501075892 Moscow TASS in English
0650 GMT 15 Jan 92

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, January 15 TASS—Moscow newspapers focus their attention today on the problem of division of the armed forces of the former Soviet Union between the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member states and on difficulties resulting from the price reform in Russia.

"A 'cold war' is no less devastating and dangerous than a 'hot war'," PRAVDA writes in a commentary dealing with conflicts between members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). "It is the people who are their first victims. While leaders flatter their own vanity and ambitions, people's living standards are rapidly declining. So, perhaps, the time has come to find a reliable way to arrest the decline?"

"We were discussing military problems in the light of the latest agreements reached in Minsk," Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Armed Forces Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, who met Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbaev in Alma-Ata on Tuesday [14 January], told KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. "Work with President Nazarbaev went more rapidly and in a more constructive way than, say, with Ukraine. There is no doubt about it ... I felt in Kazakhstan a solid foundation for a normal settlement of all problems. They realise that the problem under discussion should be settled in such a way as not to hurt officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, which is the most important thing."

Writing about the criticism to which the economic policy of the Russian Government was subjected in parliament, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes: "The mood in which the Russian parliament returned to work after a vacation may be well described as nervous. When going home to

meet their electors, the legislators were sincerely willing 'to feel the attitude of the people who are living through the economic reform', and, by all appearances, they succeeded in it The government continues to regard the president's support as a sufficient guarantee of its stability. The paradox of the situation consists in the fact that previously the president promised to support the government, protecting it against the 'wrath of uncontrolled popular masses', but it turned out that the protection is now needed against the parliament, whose patience is wearing thin far more quickly than that of the people."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a selection of reports from various cities of the Russian Federation, which deal with popular discontent over the growth of prices.

"People, who are poor already, are further being robbed. These include working people, the only ones who can create the market, i.e. produce goods," the newspaper writes in its commentary.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA analyses the latest statements, made by Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his recent tour of the country:

"Obviously, Yeltsin, who decided on unpopular economic measures, cannot avoid compromises ... however, by leaning towards populism and currying favour with declassé elements, Yeltsin may lose the support that has made him strong so far—that of liberal-democratic intellectuals, highly skilled workers and engineers. Some traits in the president's behaviour contribute to it. His tone, when talking with the people, ranges from didactic to back-slapping. His everyday habits, of which he makes no secret, appeal to the least educated sections of the population."

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA suggests the way to overcoming our economic difficulties—"to set the prices free once and for all, and, at the same time, to introduce the indexation of profits of people in the low income bracket According to some information, the Gaydar team intended to take this step closer to the coming spring, when a sufficient amount of large-value banknotes are printed, so that the government will not just announce the introduction of pensions running into thousands of roubles, but will be able to pay them."

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries an article about the documents found in the safes of participants in the August conspiracy. According to the newspaper, "the KGB had a source among Gorbachev's associates, who was not subordinated to the president."

International Affairs

Commentary Views Upcoming Yeltsin-Bush Talks

LD1401155292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1310 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] As it has been announced, President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation and President George Bush of the United States will hold a meeting either in late January or early February in Washington or in New York, where both leaders are to take part in a heads of state and government meeting of the United Nations Security Council. The program of the American-Russian summit will be coordinated later this month during the upcoming visit to Moscow of the U.S. state secretary, James Baker, due to begin on 26th January. Yuriy Solton has prepared this commentary:

Boris Yeltsin and George Bush have already met each other and, judging by their statements, established good personal contacts. But this is the first time Boris Yeltsin will go to the United States as president of Russia which succeeded the Soviet Union in the United Nations Security Council. Officials in the Washington Administration say the United States is favoring direct contacts with the former Soviet republics making up the Commonwealth of Independent States, particularly with Russia.

The present pause in relations between Moscow and Washington can easily be explained by the fact that the Bush administration has been closely watching how member countries of the new Commonwealth are resolving military and political issues, including nuclear weapons control, and how economic reforms are being carried out. Russia in turn has been giving precise orientation to its foreign policy. But the pause is unlikely to last long, pressed by many problems accumulated in different spheres, including disarmament. Besides, there is good experience of relations between the United States and the former USSR over the past few years, characterized by transition from rivalry to partnership and cooperation which put an end to the Cold War and made it possible to start the building of a new and just world order.

Both Moscow and Washington seem to be willing to preserve the continuity of Soviet-American links. The Russian Government has announced it will follow the line of not only partnership but also friendship with the United States. This does not mean, however, that Russia will turn its back on European and developing countries. But it so happens that international affairs depend much on how U.S.-Russian relations will develop. The American state secretary's National Security aide, Brent Scowcroft, said the two leaders would have a serious talk. Questions concerning the realization of earlier-reached agreements on disarmament and nuclear cuts initiated by George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev last year are expected to be discussed.

Naturally, the forthcoming meeting will highlight economic problems. But no matter how desperately Russia needs aid to cope with its severe economic crisis, Boris Yeltsin will come to the United States not to beg for help but as president of the country which is ready to cooperate with the United States on equal terms in economic and other spheres. All the signs are that precise forms of such cooperation will be determined at the upcoming summit.

Khasbulatov, Kissinger Discuss Arms Control

LD1401200692 Moscow TASS in English
1942 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—Chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov today met U.S. politician Henry Kissinger to discuss the international situation and Russian-American relations, the Russian parliament press centre said today.

Kissinger noted that Russia remained a great power. Because of this the Russian Federation alone should control the nuclear arms of the former Soviet Union. He called undesirable any other approach to the problem.

Khasbulatov spoke about the absurdity of the concept of collective control over mass destruction weapons by former Union republics. Khasbulatov said he was alarmed by attempts to split the Armed Forces at a moment when relations between republics have not yet achieved an inter-state level.

Khasbulatov said that, proceeding from good will principles, Russia could eliminate some of its nuclear arsenals if Ukraine and Kazakhstan agreed to eliminate a proportional number of their analogous arsenals.

Criticizes Government

LD1401225492 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the 'Vesti' newscast]

[Text] The confrontation between the Russian parliament and government continues. Ruslan Khasbulatov continued to criticize the cabinet today.

[Correspondent A. Pishchayev] The Russian Government is incompetent in the economy, foreign policy, and military spheres, Ruslan Khasbulatov said once again at a meeting today with Henry Kissinger, the former U.S. Secretary of State. The head of the parliament was worried most of all by our foreign policy.

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] Minister Kozyrev has been working for over a year with us now. It is high time we defined our national and state priorities. [end recording]

[Pishchayev] We have learned that Ruslan Khasbulatov intends to propose that Ambassador Yuliy Vorontsov head the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Developing Czech Relations Considered

OW1401184992 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1610 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The development of Russian-Czechoslovak relations is on track, and both countries have signed a political declaration and a trade and economic agreement. The parties have agreed on the Moscow visit by Premier Marian Calfa that is currently being prepared.

This statement was made at the Russian Foreign Ministry after DP [Diplomatic Panorama] asked for comments on reports from Czechoslovakia that Czechoslovak-Russian relations have soured recently. According to one of the reports, the Czechoslovak premier postponed his Moscow visit because "there are virtually no political and economic agreements between the two countries."

The Russian Foreign Ministry reported that the Czechoslovak premier had not planned to visit Moscow this week.

Walesa Asks Yeltsin To Return Polish Archives

LD1501035192 Moscow TASS in English
0959 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Malchun]

[Text] Warsaw January 14 TASS—Polish President Lech Walesa has asked President Yeltsin of Russia to return the archives of the Polish Modern History Institute named after Jozef Pilsudski, which were taken to the USSR by the USSR Interior Ministry (NKVD) after the Second World War.

The letter, addressed to Yeltsin, says that documents, pertaining to Polish officers executed in the Kozelsk, Starobelsk and Ostashkovo camps, could shed new light on their fate.

Walesa believes such an act of good will would help wipe out dark spots from the common past, contribute to a better future of both states and peoples. It would also testify to the ongoing changes in bilateral relations, the message says.

Syrian Arms Deal Reportedly Resumed

PM1501102392 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
11 Jan 92 pp 1, 4

[Military editor's report: "Syrian-Russian Negotiations on a \$2 Billion Arms Deal"]

[Excerpts] London—Syria is currently holding negotiations with the Russian Federation with a view to concluding an arms deal estimated at \$2 billion to complete development of its air force units and defenses.

The Russian sources who disclosed this information say that the current negotiations between the Syrian side and the new authorities in Moscow "are a resumption of the negotiations which began between Damascus and Moscow directly after the Gulf war." They add that Syria had informed the Soviet Government at the time that it wished to complete implementation of its plans to modernize its Air Force equipment and, particularly, the fighter aircraft units and the air defense system. The two sides kept the negotiations secret at the time but some information about them was later leaked to defense sources in the United States and in Israel, which quickly expressed concern at what it called "the efforts to build up Syrian military power," regarding that as "evidence of Syria's desire to keep the military option as a threat" to the Hebrew state.

According to the Russian sources, the negotiations had stopped as a result of the political instability throughout the developments which led to the demise of the Soviet Union, but they were resumed recently, after the formation of the new Commonwealth. It has been learned that the Russian side has conveyed to Damascus "its agreement in principle to supply the new arms it was requesting, but has insisted that payment for the new deal should be in cash and in hard currency; Syria is still hoping to arrive at a formula that would enable it to pay by installment. Syria did, however, say that it realized that the situation in Moscow had changed and that it was no longer possible to get the same easy financial terms under which armament agreements between Damascus and Moscow were contracted under the Soviet regime.

The same sources have confirmed that the Syrians have told the Russians that they were willing to pay with hard currency and at interests rates in line with rates currently applicable worldwide.

They expect the fate of the deal to become clear in the coming weeks. The deal, they say, covers 48 MiG-29's, 24 Sukhoy-24's, and long-range SAM-10 surface-to-air anti-aircraft missiles and SAM-11 medium-range missiles.

It should be noted here that, under previous deals with the Soviet Union Syria got MiG-29 and Sukhoy-24 aircraft, and it currently has in service 48 of the former and 24 of the latter. [passage omitted]

Moscow had in the late eighties supplied Syria and Iraq with MiG-29 fighters. Iran began getting them last year and wants some more. Damascus, Baghdad, Tripoli, and Algiers had already received Sukhoy-24 aircraft. Tehran will receive some shortly. Iran is known to have seized 24 Iraqi aircraft of that type which took refuge on Iranian airfields during the Gulf war.

If the new deal were concluded, it would mean the Syrian Air Force completing its units of these two aircraft and becoming the biggest user of these aircraft outside Russia itself. In other words, it would have in its possession 96 MiG-29 and 48 Sukhoy-24 aircraft. The SAM-11 which Syria would get is a medium-range missile that would replace the widely used SAM-6. The Syrian air defense

forces are believed to have obtained a limited number in the late eighties. The SAM-10 missile system is an advanced, long-range system which could be used against aircraft and missiles. According to the Russian sources, the missile is equivalent to the U.S. Patriot in capacity and purposes. The Patriot was used in the Gulf war against surface-to-surface missiles. The sources say that Moscow had refused to supply Syria with that advanced system but is now prepared to sell it to Syria. If that happens, Syria will become the first state in the world to receive that missile.

Rutskoy Role in POW Release Detailed

924C0344A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 31 Dec 91 p 4

[Article by Andrey Kutevov: "How the Vice President of Russia Achieved the Release of Soviet POW's"]

[Text] Three years ago Aleksandr Rutskoy was held captive by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. Now they have met at the negotiating table.

In Tehran Rutskoy did not see what we journalists saw because our vehicle came last. At the place where they turned toward the Iranian Ministry of Economics a policeman was beating up a young Iranian because he had slipped just a little ahead of the traffic light on his motorcycle. The policeman was beating him about the face with the handle of his revolver, the man was screaming wildly, but he did not resist. People are not allowed to resist here.

Rutskoy conducted the negotiations with the Iranian leaders (they lasted for two days) with confidence and ease, but the former drama was also being played out here: The Afghan mujahidin in Iran acted as though they had forgotten all the promises they had made during their negotiations in Moscow. After driving right up to the mujahidin staff headquarters, which are right on the outskirts of Tehran, Rutskoy and the members of the Russian delegation heard from them that the mujahidin categorically refused to release the first group of Soviet POW's until 1 January 1992, although in Moscow they had stated for all to hear that they would. Then, after the negotiations in Pakistan (Rutskoy had flown to Islamabad), it became clear that here, in Tehran, there had been a "probing action"—the mujahidin were interested in what Russian Vice President Rutskoy would do if the Afghan opposition were to haggle with him again and again, eliciting the greatest advantages for themselves. But I think that soon everyone understood that Rutskoy could speak only as he normally would—briefly and directly.

"Men do not behave that way," Rutskoy answered calmly to the Iranian mujahidin and was about to turn toward the door. Here they started to make a fuss. With a great deal of effort the mujahidin managed to persuade the vice president of Russia to sit down at the negotiating table again in order, as they put it, "to at least enjoy some fruit and sweets."

Things did not reach the point of fruit and sweets. But breaking off negotiations was not in the mujahidin's plans either.

When Rutskoy flew into Islamabad the next day, here into the capital of Pakistan, all the leaders of the Peshawar alliance of the Afghan armed opposition came with him. Such a thing did not exist at the time. The fierce enemies, Rabbani and Hikmatyar, sat down at the negotiating table with Rutskoy, forgetting that they hate each other even more than they hate Najibollah. Rutskoy spoke with each of them face to face for about an hour, after which in the library of the Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs there was a general two-hour meeting. Before the beginning of the negotiations in Pakistan few people believed that such a thing was possible. But a fact is still a fact—the mujahidin gave Russia, through Rutskoy, a guarantee that they would release a group of Soviet POW's within the next few days. The paradox of the situation is that Hikmatyar and Rabbani, who have the largest number of Soviet POW's, not to mention the other mujahidin "leaders," began to compete with one another for who would give more. Having heard Hikmatyar's statement that he was prepared to return Soviet soldier Nikolay Vyrodov to Russia right then, Rabbani stated that he would immediately turn over three, and unless there was an unexpected snowfall in the mountains, the Soviet POW's would be there, in Islamabad, the next day. The president of the transition government of Afghanistan, Sibghatullah Mojaddidi, did not want to look bad either and personally brought one of the captives to the airport literally five minutes before the Soviet delegation departed for Kabul.

Right here a tragic mistake was made. Everything was being done in a terrible hurry—this is why one of the mujahidin field commanders let his chief down in a cruel way. Mojaddidi had actually brought a captive. But not the right one: Not a Soviet, but an Afghan soldier who had been captured in 1990 after all the Soviet troops had left Afghanistan. This soldier's fate was decided simply. In Kabul the Soviet delegation turned him over to the Red Cross, and I am afraid to imagine what Mojaddidi will do to the field commander who embarrassed him in front of the whole world.

Up until their negotiations with Rutskoy the mujahidin (Rabbani in particular) had set only one condition. "I would release all Soviet captives," said Rabbani in an interview for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (the full text will be published in the next few issues), "but you gave this power to Najibollah so you can get rid of him too." After their face-to-face conversation with Rutskoy, Rabbani and other mujahidin made concessions: Now they were prepared to release all of their POW's if Najibollah would do the same thing in Kabul—release all mujahidin prisoners from the central prison in Kabul.

With this Rutskoy flew to Kabul.

The negotiations between Rutskoy and Najibollah were also face to face. The Soviet delegation was detained here

for an entire day. Here is the result—Najibollah is now prepared to unilaterally release no less than 100 mujahidin captives.

This is to take place before 1 January 1992.

There is another result of these negotiations: The plan to create a commission to regulate the situation in Afghanistan, which could include (both opposing sides agreed to this) influential representatives of the Najibollah government and the mujahidin. It was Russian Vice President Rutskoy who was nominated (by both sides) to submit the plan to the United Nations.

In the plane I asked Rutskoy how the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs felt about this trip to the East. "I hope that Andrey Kozyrev, with whom I discussed this trip in detail, will find its results interesting," answered the vice president. Rutskoy did not know yet that while he was in the East, there had been more rumors in Moscow about his possible resignation. In Kabul Ambassador Pasukhov said to Rutskoy: Russian radio reports that Rutskoy was always lashing out at Yeltsin and the Russian Government. Rutskoy was amazed: Such a thing had never happened, nor could it have. Other problems were also resolved in the East.

The question of the captives was only one part of the Russian vice president's trip to the East. Negotiations with Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and President Najibollah touched upon the most diverse aspects of our bilateral relations. Although the problem of the Soviet POW's was, of course, the main one. It is no longer a secret to anyone that many of them were deserters and fought on the side of the mujahidin.

"Do you have the blood of our boys on your hands?" my colleague, journalist Aleksandr Barkhatov, asked of Nikolay Vyrodov, whom Hikmatyar (he kept his word) brought to meet with Rutskoy in the Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Vyrodov, who deserted to the mujahidin side in 1982, did not answer. Barkhatov asked again: "Nikolay, yes or no?" There was a pregnant pause. "Yes," Vyrodov answered quietly. "I fired at my own people." He does not want to return home. He really does not. He is most afraid of his fellow "Afgantsy." Who can tell them to forgive him? "I remember your mother," Rutskoy told him. "She came to see me several times, she cried and asked for help. At least write her a letter...."

Vyrodov agreed, but reluctantly. "Do you want us to arrange for your mother to come and see you in Pakistan?" Vice President Rutskoy asked him. Vyrodov did not answer. "Do you have any objections, Mr. Hikmatyar?" Rutskoy asked. "No," said Hikmatyar without hesitation, "let his mother and other mothers come. We have nothing against that now. I will tell Mr. Rutskoy exactly which Soviet soldiers we have...." (We already have these lists. The ball is rolling.)

Four days after Rutskoy returned to Moscow from Islamabad, we received a report on a news conference held there at which it was announced that the mujahidin (Rabbani's "Islamic Society of Afghanistan") had delivered three POW's to the Pakistani capital and were prepared to turn them over.

Search for More POW's Continues

OW1501091692 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Jan 92

[A. Barkhatov video report; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] A few minutes ago we showed you a report from our correspondent in Kabul on the fate of our prisoners of war. Opinions on the prisoners of war issue differs, as prisoners of war themselves differ. My colleague, Aleksandr Barkhatov offers you a different viewpoint on Soviet prisoners of war. [Video shows crowded streets of Kabul, a man wearing a Soviet army belt, then cuts to show the Rutskoy motorcade]

[Barkhatov] This is Kabul, in the 13th new year of a long running, never declared, and today completely foreign war. What else did the (?instigators) dream up after changing the flag? They ceased military aid, but that is little joy for those whom they patted on the shoulder and called advisees. Yet it is hardly the time to evoke a bygone spirit and say a few good words about the other side, while the notorious Scuds continue to fall.

Here is the question: For whom and where is the representative of Russia a welcome guest? And in whose eyes is he the peacemaker? The most distressing question is, how many former comrades in arms are walking barefoot on this same earth, and not carpet. [Video shows Rutskoy, in stockinged feet, walking on carpet in a mosque, then cuts to show Rutskoy speaking with the mujahidin]

Yes, after the vice president of Russia met with the mudjahidin in Iran and Pakistan, the world began to talk about Russia's position as being realistic and inspiring optimism. However.... [Video cuts to show the Rutskoy news conference]

[Begin Rutskoy recording] The mujahidin gave promises accordingly, that on my visit the first group of prisoners of war would be returned to those parents who, as matter of fact, do not know about their sons. The result of those words is that I am sitting here alone. [end recording] [Video cuts to show Barkhatov]

[Barkhatov] In any case, the most irreconcilable out of the whole irreconcilable opposition, (?Hikmatyar), presented the Soviet delegation with one former Soviet soldier, but I do not think that we can say that he was a prisoner of war. [Video shows Barkhatov interviewing a man at the news conference]

[Begin recording] [Barkhatov] What is your name?

[Vorodan] Vorodan, Nikolay Anatolyevich.

[Barkhatov] When were you captured?

[Vorodan] In 1982, but I was not captured. I went myself.

[Barkhatov] Please tell me what your plans are now, will you be returning, have you decided on anything?

[Vorodan] I have not thought about returning yet. I am thinking about getting married and living in Afghanistan, or some other country.

[Barkhatov] Are you not planning to write a letter home, or to friends?

[Vorodan] Friends! There is a proverb: He, who once was a friend, in the end, sometimes becomes an enemy, but he who was an enemy, in the end, sometimes becomes a friend.

[Barkhatov] Have you ever had an occasion to raise weapons on behalf of the mujahidin?

[Vorodan] Completely, and everywhere.

[Barkhatov] And have you used weapons against your former countrymen?

[Vorodan] It is not quite right to say countrymen, aggressors would be more correct.

[Barkhatov] Please excuse me for such a harsh question, but are you stained with the blood of former Soviet soldiers? [An unidentified Russian voice off camera]

[Voice interrupting] Why are you asking him such questions! Aleksandr, do not answer such questions. Do not ask the man such questions, I am categorically opposed to it.

[Barkhatov] Very well. I only have one more question, yes or no?

[Vorodan] Yes.

[Barkhatov] Thank you. [end recording] [Video shows busy Kabul street scene]

In any case, we found out about the fate of one more prisoner, firsthand. The one thing left to hope for is that others will have a chance to let someone know about them, if they are still alive. Although, for example, according to information from the chairman of the Committee for International Soldiers' Affairs, Ruslan Aushev, from 304 listed as missing, nearly 250 have died or have been killed. About 20 have converted, and are living peacefully having acquired a family and a home. But about 35 to 40 are still classified as prisoners in various field groups commanded by people who bear no allegiance to anyone but Allah. [video shows a highway and a guarded complex of buildings]

Speaking honestly, it seems that the Russian presidential adviser and chief coordinator of Russian parliamentary efforts, On Andronov's patience is inexhaustible in all these endless searches. And now, literally in the last few

days, another hope has appeared for meeting with someone concerning the prisoners, a live object for trade in global politics.

Delegation Unable To Pay Airfare to Tokyo

LD1401180192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Jan 92

[by TASS correspondent Vladimior Prokhorov]

[Text] Tokyo, 14 January (TASS)—A visit to Japan by a Russian Government delegation to study how that country's economy functions, planned for 15 January, is now in doubt, because air ticket prices in the former Soviet republics have been deregulated. The Russian Government simply does not have the money to buy the 17 delegation members their Moscow-Tokyo return tickets at nearly 13 times the previous rate. It has thus had to ask the Japanese foreign, foreign trade, and industry ministries, who had promised to organize the two-week visit, for an indefinite postponement.

Another visit, by a group of Russian nuclear power experts to study safety systems at Japanese nuclear power stations, planned for 19 January, is in doubt for the same reason.

Social Security Organ To Receive German Help

PM1501110392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from TASS-RIA roundup under the "Russia and the World" rubric: "Common Market To Our Market"]

[Text] German experts will be visiting Moscow in the near future to assist the Russian Ministry of Social Security. RIA's correspondent was told at the FRG Ministry of Labor that administrations would be set up in Moscow with their help to handle the training of qualified cadres, the elaboration of social policy during transition to the market, and measures to stimulate privatization. The Common Market countries are allocating 1 billion Deutschmarks for these purposes. In addition, Germany plans to invite 11,000 qualified workers and specialists from Russia to work in the construction industry, agriculture, and the service sector this year.

Italy Releases Blocked Credits for Russia

PM1401100492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Mikhail Ilinskiy report: "Credits for Russia Released"]

[Text] Rome—The Italian newspapers have reported two pieces of good news. The first: SACE (the state insurance agency which guarantees payment for Italian export operations) has consented to the dispatch of food and essential goods to Russia to the total value of 1,500 billion Italian lire. The second: The Treasury Ministry has declared its readiness to release the credits which

were to have been granted to the former Soviet Union under an agreement for 1990.

To this day Italian credits totaling 7,200 billion lire for 1990-1994 have remained an important political and economic factor giving encouragement to both sides, reflecting our relations and intentions, but they have not actually set commodity supplies in motion or financed projects or banking operations. The reason for this, in the view of Italian financial circles, is the instability of the situation in the former Soviet Union and the lack of guarantees as to who will ultimately take responsibility for paying the accumulated debt (in November 1991 the USSR owed Italy 5,187 billion lire on various accounts).

Russia and the other sovereign republics had to give appropriate guarantees, LA STAMPA writes. It is barely 20 days since Yeltsin's visit to Rome, and the 1,500-billion-lire aid package agreed between Italy and Russia is becoming a reality. Over the next month, SACE has stated, the first Italian goods will be delivered to the Russian market.

There is another important point. Under the agreement for 1990-1994 Italy pledged to grant credits in equal shares of 1,000 billion lire a year. "Now," LA STAMPA writes, "under pressure from Russian and Italian businessmen, who have signed a whole heap of contracts, the Italian authorities have decided to bring forward the issuing of credits, that is, to transfer 1,000 billion lire to 1994 and 500 billion to 1993."

Russia's guarantees, the desire of business circles to develop cooperation and stimulate financial and economic relations, and the Italian state's most-favored-nation policy have made it possible to unblock a situation which could have cost considerable precious time and effort.

Over many decades we have grown used to breaking through various blockades and obtaining our due. In this case both sides worked to break through a "wall" that had sprung up, strangely enough, on the basis of the very best relations and our own difficulties. And to be fair, we must note the contribution of the Italian Government and business circles, which act more quickly and constructively than many of our other partners.

Humanitarian Aid Reaching Moscow Addressees

*LD1501040292 Moscow TASS in English
1520 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—As Moscow authorities fail to control the distribution of humanitarian aid coming to the city from all over the world, Western countries express concern that part of the aid end up on the black market and commercial shops.

In an interview with the newspaper KURANTY, Viktor Korobchenko, deputy vice-mayor of Moscow, said the distribution of the aid is under constant control of city authorities, adding that the city police have been

instructed to investigate the cases of selling goods from humanitarian aid in commercial shops.

Korobchenko said that last year, about 20,000 tonnes of goods, including medicines and food, were distributed among children's houses and hospitals.

He added, however, that part of the aid, including meat and dried milk, will be sold at market prices in state shops and the funds raised will be distributed among lower-income families, Korobchenko said.

The programme aims to promote market relations based on private ownership, Galina Bodrenkova, head of Moscow's charity home, told the newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

She said about 150,000 tonnes of food will be sold in Moscow and St. Petersburg and part of the profits will go to the social security fund.

Under another EC programme, 27,000 of food will be distributed among lower-income families, Bodrenkova said.

India To Send 'Urgent' Food, Medicine

*LD1301160192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 0800 GMT 10 Jan 92*

[Text] India intends to render urgent humanitarian aid to Russia to the sum of 150 million Indian rupees. This is contained in a statement officially circulated by the Indian Embassy in Moscow.

These funds will be used for the purchase of children's food, rice, and medicines, including antibiotics, for subsequent delivery to Russia, the document states.

Most of the supplies are to be distributed between Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Yekaterinburg. The Indian Government intends to introduce corresponding quotas in rendering humanitarian aid to other member countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Federation Affairs

Security, Internal Ministry Decree Nullified

*LD1401202592 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1940 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[By KRIM-PRESS-TASS correspondent Yuriy Soltys]

[Text] Moscow, 14 January (TASS)—The 19 December 1991 decree of the Russian president setting up the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation is not in accord with the RSFSR Constitution. This decision was announced today at an open sitting of the Russian Constitutional Court.

As was noted in the decision of the Court Collegium, the decree runs counter to "the separation of legislative, executive, and court powers established by the Russian Federation and also runs counter to the delineation of

competences stated in the RSFSR Constitution between the highest bodies of state power and administration."

The decision of the court is final and is not subject to appeal. It comes into immediate force.

But this does not mean that the decree ceases to be in operation, Sergey Shakhrai, deputy chairman of the government of Russia, who represented President Boris Yeltsin at the hearing, told the KRIM-PRESS-TASS correspondent. He expressed regret that contrary to expectations, the Constitutional Court had made what in his opinion was not a juridical but a political decision.

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 2035 GMT on 14 January 1992 carries a similar item with the following addition: "He [Shakhrai] added, however, that the government should obey the Constitutional Court."]

Shakhrai Defends Merger

LD1401175192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 18 December last year, President Yeltsin signed the decree on the formation of the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs of the RSFSR. That was when we were still called the RSFSR. The reaction to this decree was stormy. Fearing the recreation of notorious NKVD, both the Russian parliament and the Constitutional Court voiced their sharply negative attitude to the joining together of the militia and counterintelligence. Within the services themselves, especially the then Federal Security Agency, this idea also did not cause delight, but for different reasons. The decree was suspended but the joining together did, nonetheless, begin little by little. Today, the Constitutional Court of Russia examined the legality of this decree.

Both sides first of all set out their standpoints. Sergey Shakhrai, who represents the position of the RSFSR president, believes that the decree was issued within the framework of the radical reforms carried out by the president. However, the other side, in particular, Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the committee for legislation, and certain experts who spoke, regard the merging of the security service and the Ministry of Internal Affairs as dangerous for society and, furthermore, the way in which the decision was made was far from impeccable in the court's view. Regarding the juridical aspect of the matter and the competence of the decree, specialists interpreted the imperfect legislation in favor of one side or the other. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, a remark made by Sergey Shakhrai to the effect that during the sitting yet another case of imprecise wording had been revealed in the Russian Constitution and, in his words, this is already the ninth. The sitting of the Constitutional Court is continuing.

Rumors on Alleged Monetary Reform Circulate

Burbulis on Monetary Reform

LD1401232292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Interview with Gennadiy Burbulis, Russian first deputy prime minister, by correspondent N. Chernyshova in Moscow on 14 January; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Burbulis] There will not be monetary reform in the near future. We shall do everything we can to bring about financial stability within the framework of the program that we have set about now. I want to assure the people that in the future too the government will carry out its policy in a maximally honest and frank manner and will undertake every possible measure to avoid a ruble war with the other states of the Commonwealth and, what is most important, to avoid misplaced fears among our population or alarming rumors like these. Thus, we are working on the possibility of indexation of the monetary deposits of the population of Russia. We thereby realize that it will require new capacities in printing presses yet again. As an experiment, we have set about introducing check books in some regions.

[Chernyshova] Doesn't that presuppose deposits being frozen for today?

[Burbulis] No, no, not by any means.

[Chernyshova] In what period do you guarantee Russians a quiet life? For what period will their money remain untouched?

[Burbulis] I think that the month or month and a half that is being mentioned currently will simply allow us to make a preliminary diagnosis of the process and, after communicating in this case with professionals from among the economic leaders, to adopt those decisions that will be in the interest of everyone.

[Chernyshova] Will Russia introduce coupons like the other sovereign countries have done?

[Burbulis] We exclude this as a state measure conducted by the government, but evidently in some regions, in some territories, on a specific, address-oriented, social basis a measure like this may be introduced and may turn out to be necessary and appropriate.

[Chernyshova] In recent days your government has been subjected to criticism from various sides. Whether it is justified or not, people's lives have grown worse and in that sense any criticism finds a response among the people.

[Burbulis] I think it is poor and naive to panic after two weeks of the real thing and to whip up that uncertainty in which Russians sometimes live. There will be no resignation. The government is working reliably, in so far as it is

able. We are not preparing either to panic or to take such a threat seriously. [Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 14 January 1992 in a recorded interview with Burbulis adds the following: "There will be no resignation. The government is working reliably, in so far as it is able. We will accept with pleasure any help and any participation. We are ready to expand our Cabinet with professionals and people of conviction, but we have no intention of panicking or taking such threats seriously."]

Gaydar Denies Rumors

LD1401113992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—"The Russian Government is not at present planning to carry out monetary reform," Yegor Gaydar, deputy prime minister of the Government of the Russian Federation told a TASS correspondent. "The rumors being actively circulated on this score have no real basis."

The government, said Yegor Gaydar, is pursuing a policy of supporting and improving the health of the ruble and the existing monetary system and will do everything that is economically and politically possible to avoid monetary reform, which it regards as a most extreme, forced measure.

Bank Official on Rumors

LD1401211792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It appears that the rumors about the forthcoming monetary reform in Russia have already reached their peak today. The newspapers are even already specifying a definite date for the appearance of the new money—16 January. The accelerated introduction of coupons among neighbors has intensified the anxiety. What is going to happen to our ruble? Today Yegor Gaydar reported that it will grow stronger and that the rumors about the coming monetary reform have no foundation.

According to Russian Central Bank representative Nikitin today, it is possible that one of the reasons for the emergence of these rumors was the decision to issue new Russian checks. They correspond to European standards and in two weeks time they will appear at Russia's savings banks. This will naturally limit the use of cash in the republic.

'All Stupidity' Say Deputy

LD1401103692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Eduard Vedernikov, secretary of the Russian parliament's budget commission and republican people's deputy, has responded to a request from RIA to give his

opinion of the rumors circulating in Moscow about a monetary reform possibly being implemented in the next few days with a laconic statement: It is all stupidity.

Reform Rumors Cited

PM1401111592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 6

[Report by S. Bartnikas: "Incidentally"]

[Text] Yesterday [13 January] persistent rumors began to creep round Moscow that a monetary reform is planned for 14 February: For 1,000 rubles 200 new ones will be issued and prices will allegedly be reduced. A middle-echelon worker of the Russian Central Bank whom we telephoned and who asked not to be named stated that he did not know of anything of the kind but he would not be surprised if it did happen since "the situation presupposes some kind of resolute actions." He said that the State Bank Notes, Coins, and Medals Administration is not printing new money, although that could quite well "be done secretly." We managed to ascertain that in theory information about a money reform can only be possessed by one man in the Russian Central Bank—its chairman, who by virtue of his post must keep quiet—and if an exchange of money is indeed being prepared then information regarding it most probably was "leaked" from government circles. Actually, yesterday the chairman of the Russian Central Bank was not at work and we did not manage to get even a denial from him...

Checks for Payment To Be Introduced 20 Jan

OW1401065092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2010 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 20 Russia introduces a universal standardized cheque for payments on Russia's territory, decided the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet on Monday [13 January].

The ruling says that this move is aimed at reducing the national economy's need for cash and to speed up payments.

The republican Central Bank suggested registered cheques for varying amounts. The Central Bank chairman Georgiy Matukhin said last week that 60 mn [million] worth of cheques will be issued by January 20.

Proposed 'Eurochecks' Viewed

PM1501100192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Mikhail Berger: "Checks Will Take the Place of Money, But Not Immediately and Not in All Cases"]

[Text] News agencies have put out a report to the effect that the Russian Central Bank is issuing checks to help

overcome the cash crisis which is giving citizens and the authorities so much trouble.

Monetary and banking transactions are yet another sphere in which we ruble users are leading from the back. The vast majority of people encounter two basic types of money: pay and savings book entry. There is little more in the way of means of using money: You either pay cash (the vast majority of cases) or you present a savings bank check in a store. One also encounters letters of credit or state loan bonds, but these can in no way be used to buy things or pay for dinner in a restaurant.

So, whichever way you look at it, in the main it is a case of cash changing hands, although recently, now that they have started paying people in bundles of three- or five-ruble notes, it is not that easy carrying it around. But that is only part of the problem. In view of the rapid rise in prices, you need considerably more money for the same goods, there are simply not enough bank notes available, and already there have been interstate disagreements on "bank note" grounds.

Of course, if we had "Visa" credit cards or any other kind of electronic money, even based on rubles, no one would ever have heard of a bank note crisis. But it would cost billions of dollars and would take a long time to supply banks, stores, and other facilities with the requisite equipment. Nonetheless, the money supply cannot be allowed to remain in the Stone Age and, as recent events have shown, it is indeed dangerous to do so. Given that, the Russian Central Bank has decided to accelerate work on introducing so-called Eurocheck payments, with transactions requiring special equipment for reading information electronically.

Checks replacing some of the money in circulation is a definite convenience, replacing cash transactions and ensuring that money changes hands much more swiftly. The Central Bank guarantees the payment of a cheque on the day it is presented at a bank, which, considering the weeks you have to wait for payment instructions to be carried out, seems miraculous.

At the same time, it is an illusion to think that the introduction of Eurochecks will resolve the bank note crisis or even ease it somewhat. Checks, if they are actually introduced on a wide scale, can only prevent a new, similar problem from arising. It will be some months yet before the arrival of the first relatively small batch of 40 million checks ordered from abroad, arrives, and it will be some years, Stanislav Nikitin, Central Bank deputy chief accountant, believes, before they are more or less extensively available. As well as equipping the savings banks, it is necessary to provide stores with special equipment. The Central Bank proposes that there should be a network of special stores trading mainly in expensive commodities. A further problem is the fact that the appearance of checks, electronic money, and so on in the West was due primarily to the trader's desire to stimulate the customer to buy. The picture here is somewhat different, so the trader can simply decline to

accept a check, after all, he is the master of the situation and states the terms. Why should he fiddle around cashing checks if he can demand cash in the first place. It must be borne in mind that a check cannot be put into circulation again or serve as a substitute for money. It is valid only for 10 days after it has been signed by the owner and is intended to be used in only one transaction.

The fact that the people of the former Union have no tradition at all or basic experience of using checks is a separate problem. In fact, there is not very much confidence either in any kind of paper, except bank notes. So at the present stage only the Central Bank itself can serve as the stimulus for the introduction of checks.

'Serious Accusations' Levelled Against Yeltsin

AU1301130992 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG
in German 12 Jan 92 p 4

[Christel Vollmer report: "Yeltsin's Adviser: Missiles Will Fly Soon"]

[Text] Yesterday [11 January] in Kiev Russians and Ukrainians once again tried to settle the alarming quarrel about the future command over the former Red Army and, above all, the Black Sea Fleet. In the evening no agreement was in sight—and, in the view of Professor Sergey Karaganov, formerly Gorbachev's adviser and now Yeltsin's adviser, there will not be any. He even fears that war will break out between Russia and the Ukraine.

Karaganov, head of the Europe Institute in Moscow, said in an interview with BILD AM SONNTAG: "The worst period of Russian history will be the next few months. Russia is trying to implement market reforms, but the other states are not thinking of doing so. They are ruled by presidents who are diehard old communists. Every president insists on his own army. However, the military does not want to be divided. Generally, such things lead to war. My somber forecast in the first few days of the new year: I see the first missiles flying soon."

Serious accusations against Russia's president are leveled by his adviser Yuriy Afanasyev and economic expert and Russian deputy Tatyana Koryagina (she is running against Gavriil Popov for Moscow mayor). Afanasyev: "Yeltsin is responsible for the imminent break between Russia and the Ukraine. Such a break may lead to the Ukraine orienting itself completely toward the West while Russia moves away from Europe into the central Asian-Islamic sphere of influence." If this happens, he expects a "geopolitical earthquake." Tatyana Koryagina told BILD AM SONNTAG: "I am enormously disappointed by Yeltsin and by his government, which only consists of words and not deeds. Yeltsin has become a dangerous figure—above all, on those days when he dedicates himself almost exclusively to alcohol. He is unpredictable and capable of anything if he sees his power in danger."

Khasbulatov, Yeltsin To 'Come to Terms'*OW1401192892 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1815 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian parliament, Mr. Ruslan Khasbulatov, said that relations between the president and himself did not depend on the attitude of each of them to the government. They are deeply rooted and "we cherish them", he told journalists on Tuesday [14 January] following his talks in Moscow with former U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger.

Ruslan Khasbulatov also said that he had no plans to compete for the post of prime minister because, he said, the post of chairman of the parliament is more important than that of prime minister. Mr. Khasbulatov expressed the opinion that he would come to terms with President Yeltsin on the attitude to the current Russian government.

He criticized Russian Foreign Minister Mr. Andrey Kozyrev, for "the absence of a concept of national and state priorities in the foreign and defence policies".

Minister Predicts Gorbachev-Yeltsin Cooperation*LD1401182592 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1700 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[Text] The Russian Press Minister, Mikhail Poltoranin, has not ruled out the possibility of close cooperation in the near future between Yeltsin and Gorbachev, whose lives are closely interconnected, as he put it. In an interview, he said Mikhail Gorbachev did much good for the country and one should respect his intellect and energy. The minister is convinced that the former Soviet leader will return to active politics and closely interact with Yeltsin in the future for the benefit of Russia.

Gaydar Views Public Reaction to Free Prices*PM1501104592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2*

[Interview with Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar by correspondent Mikhail Berger, date and place not given, under the rubric "Chronicle of Reform": "Free Prices Are Irreversible, Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar Believes"]

[Text] Ludwig Erhard, postwar Germany's minister of economic affairs who is now extremely popular in our country (and who, incidentally, was a professor who never had the "practical experience" of running a factory) would have been somewhat surprised if, the day after he implemented price liberalization, journalists and customers had rushed to the stores looking for goods in abundance. Although, as we know, these goods did materialize fairly quickly, it was still some time later. And in 1948, three or four months after the reforms

started, the German press was writing about the complete failure of the Erhard plan. The wealth to which this "failure" ultimately led is more than enough not only for the Germans.

...On 2 January—that is, in virtually the first few hours after the Russian president's decree on price liberalization came into force—journalists and customers were asking where everything was after checking out their local stores.

"The public impatience in the first few days was entirely understandable as far as I was concerned: People had been waiting too long for even a few changes for the better," Yegor Gaydar said. "It is harder to explain the fact that under our conditions the distance between a decision at the macroeconomic level and a result at the customer level is as large as the state itself. It will take a certain amount of time for the new incentives and interests to start working, and enormous efforts will be required to break with the traditional distribution system, which has experienced no working conditions other than shortages."

Not two weeks have passed since prices were liberalized in Russia, and the head of the parliament has issued an ultimatum demanding that the president, who heads the government, replace the cabinet. Ruslan Khasbulatov, who just a few weeks ago was introducing the members of the new Russian Government to parliamentarians, has suddenly become absolutely clear in the belief that this government is incompetent. He reached this conclusion after encountering free prices in Ryazan. The doctor of economic sciences and former lecturer at the "Plekhanov" institute in Moscow, who had won renown for his speeches in defense of the market economy, found free prices too high.

On 11 January, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA reported the formation of a "shadow cabinet" in opposition to the current government. It was set up by the Foundation in Support of Democratic Transformations in Russia. The fact that this completely unknown foundation was setting up a government might have remained forever a footnote in the foundation's own history. But there was one poignant detail in this event which draws attention to the members of the "shadow" cabinet: The foundation's headquarters is at the Russian White House—that is, it uses official parliamentary premises and telephones paid for out of the budget. The only thing more unique than this is a vice president who is in practice opposed to his own president and insists that the liberalization implemented by the president is premature and that the people in the government are incapable of running the economy because they have no factory experience. As if the managerial experience of Ryzhkov or Silayev helped them work miracles in running the economy.

Politicians have been more irritated and impatient in their claims against the government than the voters have been. Perhaps this impatience is connected not only with concern for the people's welfare but with a fear of

possible (although by no means guaranteed) improvements whose appearance will make it harder to clear the way for another team.

If we are aiming yet again to have a "clear-out" of the Russian cabinet, then the current situation is more than suitable. There are few ordinary people or businessmen today who could quite sincerely own up to being full of sympathy for the government. Having achieved the price liberalization which is so necessary for market reform, the Gaydar team has antagonized a large proportion of the consumers who, down the many centuries of human history, have simply never acquired the skill of deriving any joy from an increase in the cost of living.

Nor did this measure produce any joy among the continuing "leading and guiding force in our society"—the distribution system, whose continuing power lies in its ability to distribute the inevitable shortages which arise under artificially low prices. According to admittedly unverified information, an underground trading cartel has met in Moscow and tried to decide what to do: to put the rather small but nonetheless available stocks on sale at free prices or else to boycott the government. It is said that the decision went against the government.

I am no advocate of trying to discern the handiwork of criminals or the machinations of the omnipotent mafia in all problems which have emerged and may yet emerge. In general it seems to me that the reputation of our local mafiosi greatly exceeds their real "merits." It is simply that our entire life, which has been imbued with hypocrisy, double standards, and barrack-style regulation of absolutely everything, has given rise to an entire system of non-legal (and at the same time by no means always criminal) relations, interests, and links which objectively are not part of the system of market freedoms. And if the underground trading cartel really does exist and is controlling movements of goods and prices on the black, gray, and legal markets, then it is not out of antipathy for the government but exclusively in its own interests that it may have been inclined to stage a boycott.

Entrepreneurs who have already tasted the superprofits to be earned in a halfway-house market are moaning that their business is being killed by the burden of excessive taxes. And they are not just moaning, incidentally. I was phoned the other day by a businessman who told me that for any figure I liked he would "finance" an article on the Russian Government's extortionate fiscal policy. To persuade me he added that in certain places (he said where) such articles have been ordered and published.

"That is a tragedy of any stabilization program," Gaydar said. "Price liberalization deprives such a program of the sympathy of most of society, while a tough financial policy alienates the support of businessmen and of state enterprises too. We have been forced to choose a policy which in the eyes of many is either bad, very bad, or disgraceful. But we do not have a more attractive choice. We have been criticized by both sides—either for hastily striving to build capitalism in an individual former

socialist country or, on the contrary, for being too slow in moving down the road of capitalist building. Yes, entrepreneurs are absolutely right when they say that high taxes reduce the economic activeness that is so necessary to get out of the crisis. But they should realize that idle [nerabotayushchiy] money makes any kind of activeness—high or low—pointless. In order to get money working we need to carry out financial stabilization, which in practice means strictly cutting everything that can be cut. And where cuts are impossible we need to find healthy sources of finance without just 'printing money.' A healthier budget—the prime condition for financial stabilization—requires, sad though it may be, a definite fiscal policy, which we have been forced to implement even though we are very well aware that low taxes are better than high taxes."

[Berger] In that case are there grounds for believing that taxes may be reduced?

[Gaydar] In the longer term undoubtedly, but in the shorter term that would be suicidal. The most terrible thing would be to go down the road of tax breaks and concessions just now in the first quarter. If we were to do this we would be stuck in a barter economy for a long time. [Gaydar ends]

Despite all the accusations and ultimatums, Gaydar is convinced that the government is on the right track, that it has moved from talking about reform to action, and that a lot has been achieved in a short time. And what has been accomplished is in practice irreversible. Liberalized prices—whatever the costs of this process—cannot be replaced by state price lists. Privatization may be stuttering but it is under way and it will be very hard to stop.

The government's plans for the immediate future include the removal of the 25-percent restriction on the trade markup—an absurd restriction in my view which makes liberalization seem more like a Pavlovian experiment with prices.

As for soaring prices, these, Gaydar believes, reflect suppliers' inflationary expectations, and prices have fallen for a number of goods (sour cream and fish). Such cases should not give rise to any illusions, but at the same time they attest to the potential of a market development of events.

Describing the situation as a whole, Gaydar referred to it as serious but developing entirely as predicted. So far nothing has happened which would show that it is impossible to implement the reforms which have been begun.

An unpredictable area is the political backdrop against which the government is operating. And a great deal, if not everything, in this area will depend on the consistency shown by the Russian president and his desire (or reluctance) to change the mind of a parliament which has taken on itself the role of opposition. Gaydar and his

fellow team members believe that the president intends to change neither his course nor his government.

Agriculture Minister Holds News Conference

Discusses Land Reform

LD1401211192

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 14 January carries a special five-minute news bulletin devoted to the government's economic reforms. Announcer Andrey Veduta notes that Radio Rossii plans to carry the bulletin every day at this same time.

Veduta says it looks as if action is now being taken on land reform but Russia will not be able to do without grain imports for a while. The main reason, according to Viktor Khlystun, the Russian minister of agriculture, is underproduction and an inefficient system of processing produce. At a news conference today the minister said that although there were problems inherited from his predecessors the 1992 harvest would be quite good.

Correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov then takes up the report, noting that Khlystun said at the news conference on land reform that it was not only important to redistribute the land, the whole agrarian complex had to be transformed. In a recording of him speaking at the news conference, Khlystun notes the main features of the agrarian reform as being transformation of collective and state farms into new forms of management, development of the rural infrastructure, reform of the systems of processing and storage of agricultural produce, development of the engineering and social infrastructure for a variety of forms of economic activity.

Speaking of the president's decree on urgent measures for implementing the land reform and the government's resolution on the reorganization of collective and state farms, Khlystun says the philosophy behind these documents is that they are asking the collectives of the farms to examine, at their meetings in the course of the next two months, the question of changing to new forms of management. There is no question that they are imposing this change forcibly, he added.

Osipov says that the minister announced that, so far, there had been no opposition to the agrarian reform drafted by the Russian Government, but he noted that in agriculture the whole social sphere has to be handed over to the municipal bodies. The minister said that from this year the system of purchases of agricultural produce was being changed. A system of contracts would be introduced with produce being sold at market prices. He said that according to his forecasts, prices of poultry, milk, and other produce would soon fall. The government was not renouncing the social protection of workers or pensioners of collective and state farms which are to be liquidated as unprofitable. There are estimated to be up to 2,500 such farms in Russia, Osipov says.

In a second recording, Khlystun says that the main form of holding land should be as private property with the right of pledging this land to a bank in order to obtain credit, with the right to sell this land if need be. Unfortunately, he says, the current legislation does not allow them to do this and this is a serious error in policy that they have not managed to convince parliamentarians of the need for normal civilized purchase and sale of land.

"I stress normal and civilized because today this purchase and sale of land does exist underground in a distorted form. The state does not gain but loses substantially from this," the minister says. The person who owns the land will realize that if the land is used rationally he will have his profit from it.

Cited on Grain Import Plans

LD1401150792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—In spite of the great hopes placed on the agrarian reform in Russia announced two weeks ago, the republic intends to import grain in the near future.

"In 1992 we will need to import 20 million tonnes of grain," it was stated at a press conference in the Russian Government today by republican Minister of Agriculture Viktor Khlystun.

He said that in 1991 Russia received 16 million tonnes of grain from abroad.

Further Khlystun Statements

LD1401222192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Viktor Khlystun [Russian minister of agriculture] held a news conference in Moscow today.

[Correspondent M. Aleksandriya] The minister pins his hopes on the reception by the peasants of the agrarian reform in Russia, announced two months ago. Till March they must make their free choice of a specific form of running their farms. This means that associations of peasant farms, joint-stock companies of the open type, and collective enterprises having a share in the property of the enterprise can soon emerge in the countryside. Loss-incurring farms will be reformed obligatorily, naturally after the underlying causes of their lack of viability have been properly looked into.

[Khlystun] The decision extending state support for peasant farms provides for the allocation of budget resources to support peasant farms. It provides for a system of measures to set up agricultural service for peasant farms. For the time being, however, the situation

is developing in a rather complicated manner. I cannot today guarantee that peasant farms will be provided 100 percent with resources and finances.

[Announcer] Nor is there a guarantee that livestock breeding will be ensured the feeds it requires. In Viktor Khlystun's view, Russia will need to import 20 million tonnes of grain this year. Having touched on the liberalization of prices, Viktor Khlystun noted that according to his observations social tension in the countryside is lower than in the cities and that a lowering of prices for agricultural produce could be expected in the nearest future. Many producers are ready for this, having come up against the problem of selling their output, said the minister, referring to his meetings with agricultural workers.

Improved Food Production Linked to Land Reform

LD1101132392 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT
11 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Styazhkin]

[Text] Stavropol January 11 (TASS)—Russian Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun said agricultural production could crawl out of the wreckage if the land reform was developed consistently.

He addressed a regional conference focusing on how to implement the programme of comprehensive transformations in the countryside, which ended here.

Khlystun said this was possible if the entire agriculture and related industries, including the management principles, the procurement, storage and processing of farm output, insurance, the technical and social service were drastically reformed.

He emphasised the Russian Government, which favours a variety of the forms of economic management, acts both on the side of farmers and supports the sensible re-organisation of collective and state farm structures into farmers associations, joint-stock companies of the open or closed type and agricultural cooperatives.

Khlystun presented to the conference a governmental programme to replenish state food resources for this year. Its essence is that collective farms, state farms and farmers sell a quarter of farm output to the state under mandatory contracts at actual market prices. The quota for grain is somewhat higher—35 per cent and for meat and milk—45 per cent.

Property Official Cited on Reforms, Shareholders

LD1401143792 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT
14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiev]

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—"The Russian Government needs support of large social forces to carry out

fair privatisation," Anatoliy Chubays, head of the Russian committee managing state property, said on Monday [13 January].

To this end, the government decided to transfer 25 per cent of the republic's property to working collectives. Each worker will become a share-holder, but the controlling interest will not be owned by the working collective, Chubays said.

He stressed the programme of radical reforms aims to eliminate the budget deficit in the first quarter of 1992 and bring the inflation down to five or seven per cent by spring and to two per cent by the end of the year.

Chubays stressed the government will carry out accelerated privatisation, allowing it to privatise up to 25 per cent of the republic's fixed assets in 1992.

He opposed the idea of "sweeping privatisation," adding that state property should not be sold at give-away prices to those who stand behind working collectives.

Burbulis on Former Union Arms, Commonwealth

PM1401144092 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 12 Jan 92 p A8

[Report on interview with Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis by Anders Steinvall held in Moscow on 11 January]

[Text] Moscow—Russia's conflict with the Ukraine over control of the Black Sea Fleet is not of decisive importance for the Commonwealth which has replaced the Soviet Union, one of Russia's most influential politicians assured me in an interview with DAGENS NYHETER on Saturday [11 January].

However, Gennadiy Burbulis, who is Russian President Boris Yeltsin's closest aide and who has been pointed out as the main architect of the Russian leadership's policies, stressed that Russia carries the main responsibility for the former Soviet Union's Armed Forces.

The war of words between Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk over the future of the Black Sea Fleet has been seen as a serious threat to the newly-formed Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which embraces eleven of the former Soviet republics.

In the month the Commonwealth has existed the policies of economic reform have also given rise to sharp exchanges between the leaders of member states.

"It would be naive to think that that you can solve in an hour all the problems caused by the totalitarian communist regime, that you can free yourself from the sickness without complications," Burbulis said in an interview with DAGENS NYHETER which took place on Saturday.

Burbulis—who will visit Sweden in just over a week's time—received me in his enormous office in the former headquarters of the Communist Party in the Old Square in central Moscow.

Now the Russian leadership, which once and for all dissolved the Union the Communist Party created seven decades ago, has moved into the massive gray building.

The Communist Party's number two [man] once sat on the chair on which Burbulis now sits. Vladimir Ivashko, Yegor Ligachev, and Mikhail Suslov are a few of the communist leaders who have ruled from this room.

Burbulis received me between two other meetings. He and his staff work seven days a week, almost around the clock.

The past week's increasingly serious crisis over the division of the military resources in the Soviet Union has increased the weight of work.

On Saturday, Russia sent a high-level delegation to the Ukrainian capital of Kiev to try to find a negotiated solution to the sensitive question of who is to control the Black Sea Fleet.

However, the view taken of the row, which has increased the rest of the world's worries about possible future conflicts between the former Soviet republics, is out of proportion, according to Burbulis.

"This question does not have much to do with the real process. The important thing is to take account now of what the majority of the peoples in Russia and the Ukraine think," Burbulis said.

However, the views of what this "taking account" means are probably very different between politicians in Kiev and in Moscow.

Recently military leaders have been voicing warnings about the chaos which will start when the armed forces no longer know whose orders they should obey.

Kravchuk has demanded that all armed forces in the republic—including the Black Sea Fleet—should swear an oath of allegiance to the Ukraine.

This idea has been rejected by Yeltsin and the military leadership in Moscow who take the view that, for the time being at least, the troops must remain loyal to all the CIS member states.

The Moscow newspaper, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, said on Saturday that "according to reliable sources" the Russian leadership intends to take over control of all former Soviet military units, if agreement within the CIS cannot be reached.

Burbulis was unwilling to give any direct confirmation of this, but he did say that Russia already controls in practice the largest part of the armed forces.

"Everyone must remember that Russia finances the largest part of the former Soviet Union's Armed Forces. The largest part of military personnel are also Russian," Burbulis said.

"That is why Russia carries the main responsibility and is playing a specific role in this question."

Burbulis stressed that Russia intends to follow the so-called Minsk and Alma Ata agreements, documents which form the foundations of the CIS. These agreements talk of military forces under a joint command, but also of the right of individual states to form their own armies.

"We could find ourselves in strange situation, but Russia will not take any initiatives which makes the process we have started more difficult," Burbulis assured me.

Forty-six-year-old Burbulis has achieved supreme power in Moscow rapidly and to the great amazement of some.

Only a few years ago he was a totally unknown philosophy professor in the industrial city of Sverdlovsk (now Yekaterinburg), and taught Marxism-Leninism, among other things, at university and was active in the Communist Party.

On the local political scene he emerged as one of the new "democrats" and in the spring of 1989 he was elected to the new Soviet parliament.

Burbulis did not have any earlier contacts with Boris Yeltsin, despite the fact that Yeltsin began his political career in Sverdlovsk.

Contact was made when they both began to work together in the reformist opposition group which was formed in the Russian parliament.

Since then Burbulis has come to be increasingly close to Yeltsin. With the title of under secretary of state, he heads the group of advisers who work out Yeltsin's policies—and he is also first deputy prime minister and in practice Russia's number two [man].

Political observers see Burbulis as the man who persuaded Yeltsin to abandon the concept of the old Soviet Union, and to work instead for an independent Russia.

This has made Burbulis the target of much criticism from the camp which defended the Union.

The foremost critic is former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who has found it difficult to hide his anger with Burbulis. Burbulis himself says that Gorbachev has exaggerated his role.

"Everything that lies behind the Commonwealth was a collective creation, which was prepared to a large extent by Mikhail Gorbachev himself.

"We simply needed to follow the process and then produce our own solution."

Burbulis admitted that the CIS was created in part as an instrument for getting rid of the old Union—and Gorbachev—both seen as an obstacle to real reforms.

Now Yeltsin and his staff have power in their hands. The Russian leadership has set in motion a gigantic economic reform project which is intended to turn the country into a modern market economy.

Burbulis and his colleagues have already achieved one historic result—the final dissolution of the Soviet Union.

"I am sure that we have acted correctly from the historical viewpoint. But certain questions could of course have been solved in a more practical way," Burbulis admitted.

"The aim is that the policies of reform will take us so far that there is no going back."

Delegation Member Comments on Black Sea Fleet

PM1401110792 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Urban: "The Question of the Army's Future Is a Touchstone for the Commonwealth of Independent States"]

[Excerpts] Talks on military-political questions took place in Kiev 11 January between state delegations from Russia and the Ukraine. The sides agreed that the Black Sea Fleet does not just belong to the Ukraine. Unilateral action without preliminary agreement is unacceptable. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the agreements reached, Aleksandr Kotenkov, member of the Russian delegation and deputy chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Defense and Security, told a KRSNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent that this to some extent is a step forward. The main thing here, Aleksandr Alekseyevich noted, is the Ukraine's recognition that the Black Sea Fleet cannot belong to it alone. This is the first thing. The second achievement to come out of the talks is the acknowledgment that unilateral action without prior agreement is unacceptable. Also, in Kotenkov's view, a vital aspect of the talks is the agreement on the concrete definition of the composition of Ukrainian Armed Forces groupings.

One more thing. In fact, anything exceeding what is needed to bring the Ukrainian Army up to strength, but which is located on Ukrainian territory, should be done away with.

Shakhray on Ukraine, Legislation Issues

LD1301212692 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Studio interview with Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, state counsellor for legal policy and deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government, by unidentified

interviewer; date not given—live or recorded; from the "Face to Face with Russia" program]

[Text] [Interviewer] Hello! On 11 January talks ended in Kiev between delegations of the Ukraine and the Russian Federation on military and political questions connected with implementing the agreements reached within the framework of members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. As always, we have on our program to speak on this subject Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, state counsellor for legal policy and deputy chairman of the government of the Russian Federation. Sergey Mikhaylovich, what kind of delegation was it in Kiev, and what were its powers?

[Shakhray] I head a state delegation of the Russian Federation. This delegation is empowered to conduct negotiations and to initial the agreements reached, so that they may subsequently be signed by the president of Russia and ratified by the parliament of the Russian Federation. It is not an extraordinary delegation, it is not an extraordinary commission, it is a delegation which has been entrusted with examining the whole range of military and political issues with all the member states of the former USSR, including the Ukraine, the Baltic states, and all the other former Union republics. The status of the state delegation is further underlined by the fact that the composition of the delegation was determined by the president of Russia and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. It includes the foreign minister, the chairman of the Committee on International Affairs, and a whole series of other high-ranking officials of the Russian Federation.

[Interviewer] Tell me, what legal questions were touched upon at this meeting? How will they be regulated in the future?

[Shakhray] The aim of this visit, the aim of the first visit to the Ukraine, lay in learning, not at second hand, not from other sources—including such respected sources as television and the press—the position of the Ukrainian leadership on military and political issues, how the formation of the Ukraine's Armed Forces is progressing, how issues concerning strategic armed forces are going to be tackled, and a number of other issues. In the course of our work we realized that there was a possibility of reaching agreement on the most important problems, and as a result we signed a joint statement for the press.

[Interviewer] What is its essence, if you can set it out?

[Shakhray] We found a formula within which it is possible to find a way out, in a civilized manner, from the conflicts and contradictions arising. And moreover, we stressed that contradictions can occur, the main thing is how they are resolved. And incidentally, there is a special formulation in the statement that this should be only on the basis of negotiation. The formula lies in this: That we have clearly established that the armed forces located on the territory of the Ukraine consist of two large parts, and moreover, there is a particular category of armed forces within the second part. The first part is

the strategic forces; the Black Sea Fleet has been included here, with the exception of that part of the Black Sea Fleet which will be transferred to the Ukraine to carry out protection of the state border of the Ukraine, which is extensive—1,000 km [kilometers]—and there is a possibility there of allocating some of the ships that do not carry nuclear weapons.

The second grouping is the Ukraine's own Armed Forces, which began to be formed on 3 January under agreements which had been reached. There is a very important section here on those formations subject to reduction, disbandment, or withdrawal under an accord between the sides. How does this grouping come about? It derives from obligations assumed by the USSR in Vienna and Paris concerning reduction of strategic and conventional armed forces in Europe. Russia and the Ukraine have emphasized that they intend to comply with these obligations and will take measures for the ratification of those treaties. And that group which is subject to disbandment and withdrawal requires a special settlement. The sides agreed that the procedure should be agreed in a joint and concerted manner. Experts designated within the context of those talks are now meeting in Moscow, and it is they who will find the formulas for dealing with issues concerning the management of those armed forces; a temporary management which will subsequently be withdrawn.

[Interviewer] Sergey Mikhaylovich, another question. There is much talk at present about the oath taken by servicemen. How is this to be resolved, this question of taking the oath within the context of the Commonwealth, and in particular as concerns the Ukraine?

[Shakhray] You are right that this is indeed an extraordinarily important and pertinent issue. For servicemen the oath is the basic law. We discussed this matter. On the Russian side a certain formula was put forward, and it is our impression that the outcome of the work to be done by the experts will enable this pressing question to be got out of the way. So what is the essence of our proposal? It is that servicemen joining the armed forces for the first time should take an oath of allegiance to the state from whose territory they are called up, the state of which they are a citizen.

International treaties which have been concluded concerning combined strategic forces—and there may be other such international treaties—stipulate that servicemen may be designated for service in such units on the basis of the obligations of the government of one state or another. And in essence these will become coalition forces, in the fullness of time.

Much more difficult is the situation concerning those servicemen who have previously taken an oath to the USSR and are now serving in strategic forces or other troop formations on the territory of the Ukraine or some other state. What possible ways out are there here? Well, we proposed that a formula called "the serviceman's pledge" should be examined. Under this pledge, which

he will sign personally just as he does the oath, the serviceman will be obliged to observe the laws of the state where he is serving and obey the requirements of service regulations and orders from military chiefs. In this way the moral-political and juridical uncertainty is removed, and people—servicemen—are not forced to torture themselves with voluntarily deciding: Do I favor this oath or that one? They are given the opportunity to continue their service, and the state where they are serving should be satisfied that such a pledge, that there is such a pledge. In other words they will not acquire the status of occupation troops. So it seems to me that the experts should be doing some work on this kind of approach and that they will come up with proposals within the week.

[Interviewer] Thank you for answering that question. The second thing I wanted to discuss with you is the juridical aspects of legislation, presidential decrees, resolutions and decisions. Let us take the draft law on accountability for non-compliance with legislation of the Russian Federation. What kind of problems have arisen now with this? What enlightenment can you offer viewers?

[Shakhray] Well, it is no secret to anyone, our television viewers have still not forgotten the echo of the war of laws, there is no secret about the sabotage of laws being passed and of the decrees of the president of the Russian Federation in the localities. Today the president of the Russian Federation, by way of legislative initiative, submitted to parliament a draft law on liability for violating Russian legislation. I would like to cover some of the main points of this draft for our viewers.

Primarily, this is an integral draft. There is provision here for disciplinary liability measures, civil liability measures, administrative liability, and even, in special cases, criminal liability for failing to carry out the legislation of the Russian Federation. Normative acts adopted in the localities, if they are at variance with the laws, decrees, resolutions and instructions of the government, are deemed invalid from the moment of their adoption.

[Interviewer] That is, I would call such actions a kind of local independence.

[Shakhray] Yes, of course, paralysis of power is intolerable in any state, especially in the most democratic and most law-governed. If anyone makes a deal, or if some decision is taken of a non-normative nature on the basis of acts that are at variance with Russian legislation, such a deal is deemed invalid and entails consequences provided for by the Russian civil code, articles 48 and 49. What are these consequences? The consequences of deeming a deal invalid entail an obligation to return to the other party everything gained from that deal; if the deal is made with an aim knowingly running counter to the interests of the state and society, if it is done knowingly, the sum of the deal is liable to be paid to the

state; if the intent lies with one party, then its part is paid to the state, and the second part is returned to the other party.

[Interviewer] And who is going to examine these things? Which organs?

[Shakhray] The courts and arbitration, that is where these matters are dealt with. The right to appeal to these organs is conferred upon the appropriate officials, administrative organs, and of course, procuracy organs. And apart from returning the sum, there is provision for a fine of 10 percent of the value of the deal. If the requirements of Russian laws or presidential decrees are breached by an official, then this is regarded as a single gross violation of labor discipline, punishable by disciplinary liability measures, up to dismissal from post.

It is proposed to add special articles to the administrative code—on administrative offenses—and to the criminal code. In the administrative code article 166/2 appears—"deliberate failure to carry out legislation". Here there is provision for a fine of up to 10,000 rubles [R] for citizens, and of 50 times the minimum wage for officials. If you calculate this on the present minimum, then this is about R16,000.

In the criminal code there appears article 201/1—"deliberate failure by an official to carry out the legislation of the Russian Federation". If the acts in question are committed within one year of an administrative penalty being incurred, or if there is also a single gross violation, it is punishable by imprisonment for up to three years, with deprivation of the right to hold a state post for up to five years; if these acts are committed with an aim knowingly running counter to the interests of the Russian Federation, or if these acts entail serious consequences, or if they are committed through abuse of office, then there is imprisonment up to seven years, and again a prohibition on holding state office for up to five years.

[Interviewer] Sergey Mikhaylovich, excuse me if I interrupt. Laws are being passed, but unfortunately they are not being carried out in the localities, we get letters about this. How are we to raise liability here, so that the laws should function properly?

[Shakhray] It is precisely at resolving this problem that the draft under discussion is aimed. I think there is every reason for this draft to be passed by parliament, and then the law enforcement organs, the judicial organs and the procuracy gain a concrete mechanism for bringing to account officials in the localities who break the law. Moreover, there is a formula here that liability applies in the event of a person failing to act, that is, the law prescribes that he has to do something, and if he sits and fails to carry out the law [passage indistinct as both speakers talk simultaneously].

Apart from that, there is a provision here which gives the president the right to dissolve collegiate state bodies, or suspend their activity, and dismiss from office officials

responsible to him if they should fail to carry out legislation. There is a proviso here that soviets cannot be dissolved, as is stipulated in the constitution, and the supreme organs of state power cannot be dissolved. All other bodies, if they actually take up a position of sabotage against the central authorities of the Russian Federation, come under the force of this article.

[Interviewer] And supervision is exercised by the local administration, it too watches over implementation of the law?

[Shakhray] Certainly, the heads of administration in the localities, and the organs of the procuracy. Apart from that there are the representatives of the president of the Russian Federation, who are invested with the power to institute proceedings in the courts or at arbitration, and to make representations to the procuracy so that not a single case of breaching Russian legislation should escape attention. This measure would, perhaps, not be necessary if we did not have a situation of real sabotage of Russian laws.

[Interviewer] Silent sabotage. Thank you for appearing in our program.

Friendship 'Dearer Than Ten Fleets'

OW1401021992 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2010 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Friendship between Ukraine and Russia is dearer than ten fleets," said vice-premier Sergey Shakhray. In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] he commented on the criticism of individual Russian parliamentarians as regards the agreements that were reached between the Russian delegation under Shakhray and the Ukrainian delegation on the Black Sea Fleet. He attributes the criticism to two causes: "either inadequate knowledge of the situation the critics have, or their exaggerated ambitions."

Shakhray said that by the beginning of the talks Russia and Ukraine had diametrically opposed lines on the fleet issue. However, in the course of the negotiation, "it became possible to agree on giving Ukraine part of the ships as coastal guard." All strategic warships belong to the Commonwealth's navy, said Russia's vice-premier.

Basic Provisions of Privatization Program

PM1001151192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 10 Jan 92 First Edition pp 3-4

[Undated "Basic Provisions of the Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation in 1992" carried under "Official Section" rubric]

[Text] These Basic Provisions of the Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation in 1992 (hereafter called the Basic

Provisions of the Privatization Program) have been elaborated in accordance with the demands of the RSFSR law "On the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the RSFSR" and lay down the goals, priorities, and restrictions in implementing privatization in 1992.

The goals of privatization in 1992 are:

a) to promote implementation of the overall aims of the policy of economic stabilization, including the following:

easing the transition to free prices by expediting the privatization of trading enterprises and enterprises in the services sphere;

freeing the state from the burden of maintaining the most inefficient enterprises and facilities (loss-making enterprises and unfinished construction projects);

b) to create the conditions for large-scale development of the privatization process in 1993-1994;

c) to ensure that the economic efficiency of enterprises' activity is increased during privatization;

d) to increase budget revenue.

The demands laid down by the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program are binding on state administrative organs of republics within the Russian Federation, krais, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and local administrations of cities and rayons.

I. State-Owned and Municipally Owned Facilities Scheduled for Privatization in 1992

1. State-owned and municipally owned facilities shall as far as possible be broken down for privatization purposes into the following groups:

those to be privatized in accordance with mandatory targets (hereafter called mandatory privatization facilities);

those to be privatized but not included in the mandatory targets;

those whose privatization is restricted (privatization to be implemented with the permission of the Russian Federation Government, organs of state power, administration, and local administration);

and those whose privatization is prohibited.

2. Mandatory privatization shall apply to state-owned and municipally owned facilities which have the greatest influence on the formation and functioning of the market infrastructure of the Russian Federation's economy, and to enterprises and facilities whose less than efficient activity is hampering the pace of the country's economic development and the formation of the market.

Such facilities are:

a) enterprises involved in the wholesale and retail trade, public catering, and everyday services;

b) enterprises and organizations in the construction and construction materials industries;

c) state agricultural enterprises (apart from sovkhozes), enterprises engaged in the primary processing of agricultural produce, and enterprises servicing agricultural production and producing output of a technical-production nature for use in agricultural production;

d) food and light industry enterprises;

e) loss-making enterprises in various sectors of the national economy;

f) mothballed facilities and unfinished construction projects for which the normative construction timetables have expired;

g) trucking operations.

3. During the first phase (the first to third quarters of 1992) the following will be privatized:

enterprises involved in the wholesale and retail trade, public catering, and everyday services;

state agricultural enterprises (apart from sovkhozes), enterprises engaged in the primary processing of agricultural produce, and enterprises servicing agricultural production and producing output of a technical-production nature for use in agricultural production;

and mothballed facilities and unfinished construction projects for which the normative construction timetables have expired.

Phase two (to begin in the second half of 1992) will see the privatization of:

road transport and motor repair enterprises (apart from motor repair enterprises supplying in-house services);

enterprises in the construction and construction materials industries;

and small enterprises (with less than 200 workers) in the food and light industries.

The privatization of facilities not included in the mandatory targets will take place on the basis of applications for privatization submitted in accordance with the RSFSR law "On the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the RSFSR."

II. State and Municipal Enterprises Not To Be Privatized Or To Be Privatized on a Restricted Basis in 1992

1. The Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program do not regulate the privatization of sovkhozes, land, housing stocks, or state and municipal property the legal regulations governing which are determined by international agreements.

The privatization of social and cultural facilities (facilities, enterprises, and institutions involved with health care, public education, culture, and sport, including those belonging to enterprises) shall not be permitted prior to the adoption of acts of legislation regulating their privatization.

2. In 1992 it is planned to single out three groups of state-owned and municipally owned facilities whose privatization will involve various restrictions:

- a) facilities whose privatization in 1992 is prohibited;
- b) facilities and enterprises whose privatization is permitted only following a decision by the Russian Federation Government based on the proposals of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property;
- c) facilities and enterprises whose privatization is permitted only following a decision by state and local administrative organs on the basis of proposals from the relevant committees for the management of property.

3. During the privatization of the enterprises referred to in Paragraph 2 Subparagraph b of this section the Russian Federation Government is entitled to decide to retain state ownership of a controlling block of shares for up to three years.

4. The restrictions on privatization laid down in the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program shall be binding on all state and local administrative organs.

The introduction by the aforesaid organs of additional restrictions on privatization is not permitted.

5. Restrictions on privatization do not amount to a ban on the transformation of state and municipal enterprises into joint-stock companies and other organizational and legal [organizatsionno-pravovye] forms of enterprise without a change in the form of ownership.

1. Facilities and Enterprises Whose Privatization Is Prohibited in 1992

1. Mineral resources, water resources, forests, airspace, and resources of the continental shelf, territorial waters, and marine economic zone of the Russian Federation.

2. Natural territories that are protected or are for special use.

3. Objects of the historical-cultural and natural heritage and of artistic value (including historical and cultural monuments, state archives and their branches on the territory of the Russian Federation, state collections of movie, photographic, and sound documents, and the archives and collections of scientific research institutions.

4. The state treasury of the Russian Federation, the funds of the Russian Federation republic budget, Russian Federation republic currency reserve, Russian Federation Pension Fund and state nonbudget funds, the

funds of the Russian Federation Central Bank, as well as the gold reserve and diamond fund.

5. Banks and other institutions that service the money supply, and enterprises and institutions that ensure the production of bank notes, state treasury notes, shares, bonds, and other securities.

6. Property of the Armed Forces under the Russian Federation Government, of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs, of institutions financed from the Russian Federation republic budget, and also of institutions on the territory of the Russian Federation formerly financed from the USSR state budget that is not used for industrial purposes.

7. Enterprises and institutions of the geological, cartographic-geodetic, and hydrometeorological service, the environmental monitoring service, and nature conservation service.

8. Enterprises and institutions of the public health and epidemiological and veterinary service and plant protection and forestry service.

9. Enterprises of the patents office and of standardization and metrology, and machinery testing stations.

10. Power industry enterprises and facilities.

11. Enterprises, institutions, and organizations to do with pipelines.

12. Enterprises constructing and operating water resources and land reclamation systems and installations, and the facilities used in these systems.

13. Communications enterprises (aside from enterprises of the "Soyuzpechat" retail network) and television and radio broadcasting centers.

14. General-purpose highways and the organizations maintaining them.

15. Enterprises selling and manufacturing jewelry and manufacturing state insignia.

16. Enterprises producing strong poisons, drugs, and toxins, as well as those sowing, cultivating, and processing crops containing drugs and toxins.

17. Port installations, the nuclear, training, and hydrographic fleets, the fleet that carries out rescue work and clears up oil spills at sea, the "Atomflot" service and supply enterprise, the waterways and canals production association, shipping inspectorates, and the property of "Podvodrechstroy" detachments.

18. Contingency reserves (excluded from enterprise property when enterprises are privatized).

19. Sites, buildings, installations, and equipment for the burial of solid industrial and domestic waste and burial grounds for animal refuse.

20. Medical production workshops and enterprises belonging to correctional labor institutions.

21. Engineering infrastructure facilities (power, heat, and gas supply, water supply and sewage facilities, outdoor city lighting) and city amenities, as well as enterprises operating, servicing, maintaining, and repairing the aforementioned facilities.

22. Crematoriums and cemeteries.

23. Enterprises producing fissionable and radioactive material and space vehicles; enterprises and facilities that provide for the servicing, launching, and escorting of space vehicles and carry out scientific research and experimental design work in the aforementioned spheres.

2. Facilities and Enterprises That Can Be Privatized Only If the Russian Federation Government So Decides

1. Enterprises of all national economic sectors occupying a dominant position in the market.

2. Major national economic enterprises (with a balance sheet fixed capital value of more than 200 million rubles [R] on 1 January 1992 or with more than 10,000 employees).

3. Enterprises producing or repairing systems or components of any types of armaments, producing ammunition, explosives, and fireworks, carrying out scientific research or experimental design work in the aforementioned spheres; civil defense and mobilization facilities; military-technical property that can be utilized.

4. Nuclear machine building enterprises.

5. Extractive industry enterprises (except for enterprises extracting local raw materials); enterprises processing ores of precious metals, precious and semiprecious stones, and radioactive and rare earth elements.

6. Enterprises and associations of the fuel and energy complex, including coal, oil, and gas extraction enterprises and organizations, coal, oil, and gas processing enterprises, oil export storage terminals, as well as petroleum depots for interregional and republic purposes.

7. Gas supply, gasification, and gas industry enterprises and sectors that make up the unified Russian Federation gas supply system.

8. Railroad, aviation, and sea and river transport enterprises.

9. All-Russian construction organizations and enterprises producing construction materials and structures.

10. State pedigree stock farms and stud farms, breeding and hybridization centers, state seed inspectorates and laboratories testing strains of agricultural crops, strain testing stations and areas, and enterprises and facilities producing valuable and anadromous species of fish.

11. Higher educational establishments, scientific research institutions, enterprises and facilities of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Academy of Education, sector academies, the Russian Federation Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technical Policy, Russian Federation Ministry of Education, and Russian Federation Ministry of Health, facilities of state scientific centers, the "Scientific Instruments" joint-stock company, and departmental preschool institutions.

12. Printing enterprises, publishing houses, and news and telegraph agencies run by the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information.

13. Enterprises of the pharmaceutical industry and medical and biological preparations industry (aside from those mentioned in subsection 1 of this section).

14. Enterprises and organizations producing liquor and liqueurs and tobacco products.

15. Enterprises and organizations producing baby food.

16. Folk art enterprises.

17. Elevators, refrigerators, and warehousing facilities providing a permanent home for state reserves and storing contingency reserves.

18. Trade and public catering enterprises and facilities providing services for working people at enterprises (including tour-of-duty settlements), wholesale trade enterprises providing services in the Far North, and nuclear power complex enterprises.

19. State sanatorium and health resort facilities.

3. Facilities and Enterprises That Can Be Privatized Only If Organs of State Power, Government, and Local Administration So Decide

1. City passenger transport enterprises and enterprises for the repair of city transport.

2. Pawnshops.

3. Bathhouses, laundries, and hotels.

4. Enterprises, organizations, and institutions providing religious services.

5. Garbage recycling plants.

6. Pharmacies (with compulsory state licenses).

7. Uncompleted social and cultural facilities.

8. Enterprises and facilities equipped for showing movies.

III. Privatization Target Indicators and Objectives

1. Target indicators for the volumes of privatization in the republics of the Russian Federation and mandatory privatization objectives for krais, oblasts, autonomous

oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg for 1992 have been laid down on the basis of:

the list of facilities set for mandatory privatization;

the technical organizational potential of the bodies implementing privatization;

the actual aggregate demand for privatized facilities.

In order to simultaneously ensure the attainment of fiscal results and the priority privatization of small enterprises, the objectives are set in relative indicators (proportion of enterprises to be privatized as a percentage of the total number of enterprises in the sector).

The target indicators and mandatory objectives are laid down:

for the Russian Federation as a whole, broken down into sectors, in accordance with table 1 attached to the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program;

for the republics of the Russian Federation in accordance with table 2 attached to the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program;

for krays, oblasts, autonomous oblast, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg broken down into sectors (aside from the targets on uncompleted construction) in accordance with table 3 attached to the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program.

All organs of state government and local administration have been given a privatization target for 1992 of 20 percent of the value of uncompleted construction.

IV. Forecast of the Revenue From Privatization During 1992-1994 and Normatives for Its Distribution in 1992

1. The sum total of the revenue from privatization in 1992 is determined in accordance with the mandatory privatization targets for 1992, which are fully backed up by the demand in all sectors of the national economy and total R92 billion.

In 1993 the size of the revenue from privatization could increase substantially and total R350 billion (including R300-325 billion in the form of funds transferred from personalized privatization deposits).

In 1994 the total size of the revenue from privatization will amount to R470-500 billion (including R450 billion in the form of funds transferred from personalized privatization deposits).

2. Table 4 appended to the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program cites normatives for the distribution of funds from privatization, which have been determined on the basis of:

the need to create an interest in privatization among all those involved in the privatization process;

the differentiation of revenue from privatization depending on the level of ownership.

3. The Russian Federation Government has the right to correct target indicators and mandatory objectives for privatization with due regard for the state of the Russian Federation's financial system and the situation in the market for objects of ownership.

V. Methods of Privatization and Forms of Payment in 1992. Forecast of the Correlation Between Various Privatization Methods During 1992-1994

1. The specific method of privatizing an enterprise is determined by the appropriate committee for the management of property in accordance with the demands of the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program and with the normative documents approved by the Russian Federation Government and the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property.

In choosing the privatization method it is necessary to be guided by the criteria for determining privatization methods cited in Table 5 appended to the Basic Guidelines [as published; napravleniya] of the Privatization Program.

2. In 1992 it is prohibited:

to hold noncommercial competitions (i.e. without using the auction principle with regard to the price of the facility or the size of investments);

to conclude contracts for the leasing of state and municipal property which grant the lessee the right to purchase it (lessees have the right to participate in the privatization of leased property only on the usual terms);

to hold a competition (auction) if there are fewer than two purchasers.

3. The initial price when selling an enterprise by competition (at auction) or the size of a joint-stock company's incorporation capital is determined only in accordance with the Methodological Instructions for Valuing Objects of Privatization approved by the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property.

4. When carrying out privatization by means of selling shares:

state and municipal enterprises may be transformed only into joint-stock companies of an open type in accordance with the Provision on the Procedure for Transforming State and Municipal Enterprises into Joint-Stock Companies approved by the Russian Federation Government;

no less than 10 percent of the shares belonging to the state (to local soviets) are sold at auction according to the procedure defined by the Russian Federation Government, after selling and transferring a preferential package of shares to the enterprises' workers. After this the shares are registered for sale on the organized securities market.

5. Deferred payment of the value of acquired enterprises or shares is not provided for in 1992, with the exception of deferment concessions granted to enterprises' workers in accordance with Articles 23 and 24 of the RSFSR Law "On Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the RSFSR." In this case the deferment period cannot exceed one year. The procedure for granting the said concession is determined by the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property.

The procedure defined in lease contracts for property purchase transactions is used only in cases where this procedure was laid down in the lease contract before the RSFSR Law "On Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the RSFSR" was brought into effect.

6. A most important prognostic characteristic of the privatization process during 1992-1994 is the correlation cited in Table 6 between various privatization methods broken down by sectors.

VI. Concessions for Members of Labor Collectives of Enterprises Being Privatized

1. When members of labor collectives acquire shares in enterprises being privatized by means of transforming them into open joint-stock companies, they are granted the following concessions:

a) a one-shot free transfer to the enterprise's workers of personalized privileged shares totaling 25 percent of the joint-stock company's incorporation capital, but not more than 20 times the minimum monthly wage per worker.

These shares are distributed among the enterprise's workers by decision of a general meeting (conference) of the labor collective;

b) the sale of ordinary shares at a 30-percent discount off their nominal value and with a one-year deferment of payment to the enterprise's workers, including pensioners and persons who have the right to return to their former place of work. The nominal value of such a shares package sold to all members of the labor collective must not exceed 10 percent of the incorporation capital and amounts per worker to no more than six times the minimum monthly wage. At the same time the sum of the initial payment cannot be less than 20 percent of the shares' nominal value.

Shares over and above the set amount may be acquired by workers on the usual terms (at auctions or on the organized securities market);

c) restrictions are not placed on the sale by workers of shares acquired by them on preferential terms or received free of charge; the restrictions introduced earlier are lifted;

d) when selling on the organized securities market shares belonging to the state or to local soviets of people's deputies in joint-stock companies created through the transformation of state and municipal enterprises, 10

percent of the proceeds from the sale of the said shares are credited to the private personalized privatization accounts of the enterprises' workers.

2. When selling state and municipal enterprises, as well as the property of enterprises being liquidated, by competition or at auction:

a) a partnership (joint-stock company) uniting at least one-third of the complement of workers of an enterprise (subdivision) being privatized is granted, on its purchase (except for cases of the purchase of leased property), a 30-percent discount off the sale price of the property being acquired and a one-year deferment of payment. At the same time the sum of the initial payment cannot be less than 30 percent of the sale price;

b) workers who are not among the purchasers of their own enterprise (subdivision) are paid 10 percent of the sale price of the enterprise (subdivision), but not more than six times the minimum monthly wage per worker.

These funds are distributed among the enterprise's workers by decision of a general meeting (conference) of the labor collective.

3. Management officials of privatized enterprises are granted, on the terms of contracts concluded with them, the right (option) to acquire shares in joint-stock companies created by means of the transformation of these enterprises, at the nominal value and within the limits of 5 percent of the incorporation capital.

4. State and municipal enterprises (regardless of restrictions on their privatization) may set up privatization funds out of net profits and open private personalized privatization accounts for enterprise workers.

The total of the funds that can be credited to privatization funds by an enterprise in 1992 must not exceed 50 percent of the residue of the enterprise's economic incentive funds as of 1 January 1992, nor 10 percent of the enterprise's actual net profit made in 1992, but no more than 10 times the minimum monthly wage per worker's private personalized privatization account.

The profit made on extrarealization income from the sale of property and depreciation payments may not be credited to the said funds.

5. When privatizing state and municipal enterprises, privatization funds remain at the disposal of their workers.

The assets of private personalized privatization accounts may be used by workers to acquire any objects of ownership or stocks and shares [pai, doli, aktsii] according to the procedure laid down in Article 5 of the RSFSR Law "On Personalized Privatization Accounts and Deposits in the RSFSR."

6. When privatizing the enterprises indicated in Subsection 2 of Section 2 of the Basic Provisions of the

Privatization Program, the procedure for granting concessions to their workers is determined by the Russian Federation Government.

VII. Terms of Credit Provision and Amount of Credit Resources Used for Privatization in 1992

Commercial banks can provide credit for privatization transactions using their own credit resources.

Credit resources provided by the Russian Federation's Central Bank to commercial banks in 1992 cannot be used to provide credit for privatization transactions.

VIII. Formation and Use of Citizens' Personalized Privatization Deposits in 1992

1. In 1992 funds are not to be paid into the citizens' personalized privatization deposits envisaged by the RSFSR Law "On Personalized Privatization Accounts and Deposits in the RSFSR."

2. The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property, in conjunction with the Russian Federation Savings Bank, is to carry out all the necessary preparatory work for personalized privatization accounts to be opened by 1 January 1993.

IX. Use of Foreign Investment in Privatization

Foreign investment is to be used on the following basis:

1. In the privatization of trade, public catering, and transport enterprises and facilities, as well as small-scale industrial and construction enterprises, foreign investors are allowed to participate only on conditions of commercial investment tenders (that is, tenders where the object is to make new investments in a given enterprise).

Foreign capital can be involved in other methods of privatizing the above facilities—auctions, price tenders—only with the authorization of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property.

2. Incentives are provided for the involvement of foreign capital in the privatization of the following facilities and enterprises:

loss-making enterprises;

mothballed facilities and unfinished construction projects;

enterprises cutting back production because of shortages of imported raw materials, semimanufactures, or equipment;

enterprises engaged in the primary processing of agricultural produce, and food industry enterprises;

enterprises in the construction materials industry.

With a view to providing incentives to enlist foreign investors in the privatization of these enterprises and facilities permission is given for:

a controlling block of shares to be sold to a foreign investor or the complete block minus the shares given to the enterprise's workers in accordance with the procedure envisaged by Section VI of the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program;

a foreign investor to be given the right, after the sale of 10 percent of the shares at auction, to immediately acquire additional blocks of shares at market prices (the above concession applies only if the shares have increased in value in relation to their initial quoted price);

the rights to control blocks of shares belonging to property funds to be transferred to a foreign investor on contract terms.

3. The list of facilities in whose privatization foreign investors are authorized to participate only by decision of the Russian Government includes:

major national economic enterprises (with fixed capital worth in excess of R200 million as of 1 January 1992 or with more than 10,000 employees);

enterprises in all sectors of the national economy in a dominant market position;

enterprises and organizations that carry out insurance and brokerage activity involved in the movement of securities.

Foreign investors' involvement in privatization shall be subject to one of the following restrictions in 1992 by decision of the Russian Federation Government:

a total ban on involvement in privatization;

the setting of an upper limit on foreign investors' share of a joint-stock company's corporation capital (for up to three years);

the retention by the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property (the Russian Federal Property Fund) of a share giving it the right of veto or a deciding vote on matters defined by the Russian Federation Government or the joint-stock company's constituent documents;

the licensing of foreign investors' participation in privatization.

4. Foreign investors' participation in the privatization of enterprises producing high-technology output (where expenditure on research and experimental-design work totals more than 10 percent of the enterprises' expenditure), enterprises undergoing conversion, and enterprises in the fuel and energy complex shall be subject to mandatory licensing in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Russian Government.

5. A foreign investor's acquisition of a privatized facility or shares in an enterprise with a value of more than \$10 million (R50 million), and also shares guaranteeing more than 50 percent of the shareholders' votes, requires the

prior agreement of the Russian Ministry of the Economy and Finance Foreign Investment Committee.

6. With regard to facilities to be sold to foreign investors, in addition to publishing a report on the facilities privatized in the relevant property fund bulletin, reports must also be published in English.

X. Procedure for State Organs' Relations on Privatization Between Themselves, With Other State Management Organs, and With Budgets

1. The relevant property fund is the vendor of state and municipal enterprises and other facilities.

2. Until the property funds commence their activity their functions are temporarily performed by the relevant committees for the management of property, including the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property—performing the functions of the Russian Federal Property Fund.

3. In republics within the Russian Federation, krais, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and cities with a population in excess of 1 million people committees for the management of property may be vested with the rights of territorial agencies. In these cases the chairman of the committee for the management of property is appointed chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property by agreement with the head of the executive.

4. Funds received by the vendor from the privatization of the state or municipal installation are distributed in accordance with procedure laid down in Sections IV and VI of the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program.

5. Russian Federation ministries and departments shall formulate draft sectoral programs for the privatization of facilities mentioned in subsection 2 of Section II of the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program.

After coordination with local soviets of people's deputies and the Russian Federation State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and the Support of New Economic Structures, sectoral privatization programs shall be submitted by the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property to the Russian Federation Government for ratification.

6. In order to exercise the powers of owner at meetings of shareholders in joint-stock companies where controlling blocks of shares are held by the state by decision of the Russian Federation Government in accordance with the procedure envisaged by Paragraph 3 of Section II of the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program, the Russian Federal Property Fund (the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property) may recruit representatives of the relevant Russian Federation ministries and departments.

7. In order to take into consideration the sectoral features of the privatized enterprises, Russian Federation

ministries and departments shall take part in formulating standard conditions for concluding privatization transactions ratified by the Russian State Committee for the Management of State Property.

8. Russian Federation ministries and departments may delegate representatives to commissions privatizing the enterprises under their jurisdiction.

XI. Formation of Targeted Financial Funds Using Resources Obtained From Privatization

Resources obtained from privatization which are at the disposal of the corresponding soviets of people's deputies may, after quarterly payment of the budget deficit, be used as extrabudgetary funds for the following purposes alone:

the social protection of the population;

the implementation of nature conservation measures;

and the development of the utilities infrastructure of cities and territories.

Deadlines for the formation of the aforementioned funds, the amounts of the resources to be used for these purposes, and the procedure for their use shall be determined by decisions of soviets of people's deputies.

XII. Demands on Local Privatization Programs

1. Local privatization programs shall be elaborated by committees for the management of the property of the republics comprising the Russian Federation, krais, oblasts, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs, cities (except cities of rayon jurisdiction), and rayons (except rayons in cities) and shall be adopted by the corresponding soviets of people's deputies.

The local privatization program must be elaborated and approved no later than one month after the publication in the press of the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program in the press organ of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies.

2. Local privatization programs must correspond to the following mandatory requirements;

a) local programs may not contravene the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program and, in particular, local programs may not include programs on the privatization of facilities not subject to privatization under the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program, and additional restrictions on the privatization of facilities may not be introduced;

b) local programs must fully ensure the implementation of mandatory restrictions, requirements, and tasks laid down by the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program.

To ensure the fulfillment of the targeted indicators and mandatory tasks of the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program, local programs must include lists of specific facilities (or groups of facilities) subject to compulsory privatization.

Local programs may include forecasts of revenue resulting from privatization;

c) local programs shall be designed to run for one year;

d) forms and deadlines for the submission of reports on the fulfillment of tasks laid down by the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program are to be determined by the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property in coordination with the Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics.

3. Responsibility for the fulfillment of local privatization programs is placed on the corresponding property management committee.

Monitoring of the fulfillment of local privatization programs is entrusted to the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property.

XIII. Material, Technical, and Cadre Support for the Privatization Process

To ensure the fulfillment of the privatization targets as laid down in the Basic Provisions of the Privatization Program, it is instructed that:

a) executive authority and local administration heads shall ensure, as a priority and unconditionally, the allocation of premises for the state privatization organs (committees for the management of property, property funds) that are being created at a rate of one worker of a state privatization organ per 3,000 inhabitants and 7.5 square meters per worker.

b) The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property together with the Russian Federation Ministry of Education, the Russian Federation Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technical Policy, and other interested organizations shall draft a program for the training of state privatization organ workers.

The Russian Federation Central Bank is instructed to examine the proposals of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property on the granting to that committee of a credit totalling R0.5 billion for the acquisition of office equipment and communications facilities for the state privatization organs.

[Footnote] (The appendix to the privatization program will be published.)

Privatization Program Viewed

PM1401104492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Mikhail Sergeyev article: "Once Again They Are Putting Us in the Power of the Bureaucrat"]

[Text] It seems that we have not yet suffered enough in this life. It was not enough to have revolutions, collectivizations, civil wars, and all kinds of other putsches, although only recently we were thinking: That is that, we cannot and will not go on living like that, we will live like normal people...

Open the guidance document that has just been published (specifically, in the newspaper PRAVITEL-STVENNYY VESTNIK), which once again opens our eyes to our own immediate prospects: "Basic Provisions of the Program for Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation in 1992." It is quite long—more than a whole newspaper page—but you can form a clear idea of its philosophy, so to speak, if you begin by studying just the second article in the second section, since that apparently contains the whole point of the work of the entire collective of authors. Have you guessed what it is? Naturally—a list of "facilities and enterprises" whose privatization is banned!

"Mineral resources, water resources, the forests..." The authors, evidently afraid of being caught between the hammer and the anvil of public passions, do not mention the land as such at all, but land where forests grow seems to them to be exclusively the property of the treasury, since selling timber to foreigners and buying from abroad the products made from it is apparently a cross we will always have to bear. "Banks and other institutions serving monetary circulation..." Haven't they "served their term" yet?! Enterprises in the power industry and pipeline transport, television and radio centers, highways, port facilities, therapeutic workshops, utilities, crematoriums, cemeteries... Heavens, what touching concern for our bones!...

Please note, I have not mentioned even one-tenth of the things that are entitled to belong exclusively to the state and to be managed, accordingly, by the state's bureaucrats. But if their life looks set to be quite well provided for even after the fulfillment of this "privatization program," one can only imagine the truly magical delights that await them in the process of privatization according to the pattern outlined! After all, it is they themselves who will have to decide in each specific case:

to which of the numerous categories and subcategories a given facility belongs; whether it can be handed over to: a) members of the labor collective; b) foreign investors; c) some other persons or groups of persons; if it can, then in what proportions; and, of course, at what price and with or without special concessions, as if you can talk about price as if it was something that exists outside of the relations of buying and selling!.. Do you see what all this smacks of?

Even the specific method of privatization of a plant or factory is not allowed to be determined by the people who work there or by the organs of local power, but only by specially authorized bureaucrats. They are to decide what shares are to be issued in each specific case, how they are to be distributed, and who should own the controlling share. And—no doing it yourself! For instance, people's enterprises on the Tarasov-Vallaste model find no place here, because the 20,000-strong collective of the Bryansk Machine Building Plant, which chose this model for itself (see *IZVESTIYA* No. 284, 1991), is judged "offside" by the document's authors...

One wonders: Will privatization ever be applied to the age-old right of the Russian authorities—to "pull and not let go"?

Gold Extraction Industry's Revival Examined

PM1401130392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 13 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Article by Professor Vladimir Mosinets, doctor of technical sciences, winner of the USSR State Prize, and honored scientist and technologist of the RSFSR, under the rubric "Republic Property": "Gold Reserve Can Be Restored in 5-10 Years"]

[Excerpts] Following Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's sensational announcement that the USSR's gold reserve had melted away, leaving us with just 240 tonnes which puts us in the league of underdeveloped countries, the press has produced an avalanche of factual and cock-and-bull stories about the vanished gold. Nobody, however, has asked the simple question: How, given that we have underground precious metal reserves which are enormous even by world standards, are we to compete with countries like the Republic of South Africa and the United States, which determine the state of the international gold market? There is only one way we can compete with them: By developing new production facilities based on fundamentally new scientific, technical, organizational, and economic ideas. In 5-10 years, this will enable us not just to restore the lost wealth (assumed to be about 10,000-12,000 tonnes), but also to become one of the leading gold exporters.

Over the next 10 years gold prices are forecast to rise to \$22-24 per gram (at the moment the price is \$12.26-13.27 per gram). Trends that can already be observed today underlie this forecast. The structure of known gold reserves, the structure of production, and the structure of mining and extraction costs are all changing. World producers are experiencing something of a raw materials crisis. [passage omitted]

Russia possesses significant geological reserves of gold found in the most diverse formations. However, until recently only the most accessible of these formations were mined intensively: Gold from placer deposits and gold obtained as a by-product in the processing of polymetallic deposits. Large-scale ore deposits of native gold have only been exploited at one or two enterprises,

and small-scale deposits have been exploited very slowly in view of the need for substantial capital outlay. Deposits containing relatively lean ores, small individual ore deposits, epigenetic deposits, and gold placers located deep beneath permafrost have not been worked. A lot of gold remains in various mineral and raw material tailings—up to now it has been unprofitable to extract it. There exist completely untouched major gold ore deposits containing sulfarsenide ores, which can only be accessed using new science-intensive and ecologically safe technologies.

In short, the development of a fundamentally new and nontraditional raw material base for gold production is feasible in Russia. This in turn requires the establishment of an appropriate nontraditional mining and extraction technology. Specialists know the principles on which these technologies could be established. They have been tried out in other countries, for example the United States. Direct borrowing from foreign practice is hardly feasible given our national traditions, the level of our technology, the state of our raw materials, and our support system. However, it would be possible to build on this experience by developing underground and compact [kuchnyy] gold leaching technologies, for example. There is also our own experience, accumulated by nuclear industry scientific research institutes and mining enterprises. These might be able to come up with solutions for the introduction of cyanide and noncyanide gold leaching technologies. And not just compact leaching, but certain other modifications of this theme as well.

The organization of even small enterprises for working the large number of native gold ore deposits is usually held up owing to the need for greater capital investment. But only 15 percent of expenditure is spent directly on extraction. The rest goes on buildings, installations, foundations, walls, pits, and trenches. The use of mobile self-sufficient launchers, in particular wheeled missile launchers, tanks, and infantry fighting vehicles released during the conversion process, will enable us to establish fundamentally new technologies for working gold ore deposits, thus allowing us to make a six- or sevenfold reduction in capital outlay.

Tackling these technological tasks should go hand in hand with certain organizational and economic innovations. Instead of gigantic enterprises with a large number of workers, major capital investments, and high operational and social expenditure, there should be small and highly profitable prospecting-cum-operational and entrepreneurial structures. These should be established under the protection of the state as regards certain credit and tax concessions.

In order to realize these proposals, it is necessary first of all to set up "Russian Gold," a large-scale, targeted, and integrated science and production program under the auspices of the Russian Government, the aim of which would be to restore the republic's gold reserve. Moreover, not just by utilizing gold ore deposits, but also by exploiting platinum and platinum-group metal deposits

that have a high current value on the world market, as well as diamonds, emeralds, and other precious stones. Needless to say, the price policy for gold production and consumption should be reviewed and a new one introduced, which would give an impetus to the extraction of gold from ores obtained as by-products, production tailings, and old residue from mineral raw materials.

Media

Papers Discuss Government Influence of Media

PM1301172092 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 11 Jan 92 p A9

[Harald Hamrin report: "Russian Rulers Want To Control the Press"]

[Text] Moscow—The new Russian Government under Boris Yeltsin views the mass media as an important propaganda instrument in the implementation of the economic reforms which were launched at the beginning of the year. With the aid of the press, television, and radio the government must consciously strive to create a positive "image" of the reforms and of leading reformist politicians.

"Boris Yeltsin's image in the country is that of a forceful and, if necessary, also tough person," one government document states. "It is important that a similar impression of his government is also created among the people."

The document is one of four memorandums which have been drafted for inside the government and which discuss different ways of pointing media coverage of reform policies in a direction favorable to the government.

The documents are circulating in government circles in Moscow and among certain selected leading journalists in the press and the broadcasting media. They are all typed and probably therefore only exist in a limited number of copies.

Two of them have been written by named individuals while, to judge from the content and phrasing, at least one of the other unsigned documents is also written by the authors of one of the two signed documents.

DAGENS NYHETER has had access to all four documents, whose contents have not leaked out in either the Russian or any other press.

The documents contain ideas and views which it must be considered perfectly natural for politicians and high-ranking public servants to air among themselves, particularly in as unstable a situation as the one in which Russia finds itself today. But they also contain elements of obvious manipulation—elements which remind one of the old Soviet view of the role of the press, which Vladimir Lenin once formulated in the maxim that the press must be "a collective propagandist, agitator, and organizer."

Thus one of the documents states that the task of the press should be to "create a more positive image of the Russian Government" with the aim of "optimizing the sociopolitical climate in society."

In many ways the most interesting of the documents—which is fairly uncontroversial for the most part—was written by L.Y. Gozman of Moscow University and M.S. Yegorova of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

For example, the two researchers expound a lengthy argument about the population's lack of psychological preparedness for the revolutionary economic and social changes that are about to take place in Russia. In their view it is therefore all the more important that people's passivity, distrust, and lack of self-confidence are not encouraged by the press, television, and radio.

"Many people see the society of the future oriented primarily toward the 'strong person'—the young, healthy, and well-educated person," the two researchers write in their memorandum.

"Since the level of feelings of self-worth among our citizens is very low, these people see nothing for them personally in this society of the future. They therefore think that they will themselves be worse off as a result of the reforms.

"Such a feeling gives rise to a not always conscious, but psychologically very strong opposition to the reforms. Therefore it is absolutely necessary to explain that the society of the future is not only oriented toward the strong, but also toward the weak. It must be stressed that social protection and mutual help are not sporadic elements in the picture, but are fundamental elements in the construction of this society, in the same way as they are in the West, for example, in the United States and Germany."

It is "absolutely undesirable," the two researchers continue, that the mass media engage in "ruminations on people's lack of preparedness for the free market" or their "inability to work." Speculations about "special psychological properties of the Russian or Soviet people" which make it impossible for it to function in a society which calls for activity and initiative must also be avoided.

"This is untrue and it also harms the individual, since belief in oneself is absolutely necessary," Gozman and Yegorova write.

The two researchers also make recommendations about the strategy which should be followed to create a positive image of Boris Yeltsin and his ministers.

Yeltsin personally, they note, is already viewed by the man in the street as a "forceful" and sometimes even "tough" personality. However, it is as important that his ministers, for example, are depicted as "competent and energetic people, who at the same time are also disciplined and loyal to the president." On the other hand the mass media should avoid "taking any special steps to

paint a picture of the personal charisma of individual members of the government."

In order to create an image of a forceful and tough president, the press should, when appropriate, pay great attention to "some case involving the punishment of a high-ranking official who has been caught taking bribes or abusing power."

The other documents studied by DAGENS NYHETER are even more concrete in their recommendations about what should be done by the government to create a positive picture of the reform policies and of leading politicians.

This applies in particular to the regional and local press, on which readers outside the major cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg are becoming increasingly dependent as the "central" press is becoming more expensive and unobtainable for the man in the street. The regional press could even be "rapidly developed into an force in opposition to reform policies" if nothing is done by the government, one of the unsigned documents states.

"First, journalists have realized that criticism makes the press popular," the author of this document asserts. "Second, difficulties in the process of reforms will stimulate the press to take the people's side. Third, it will always be easier to gather information about the negative consequences of the reforms (for example, hunger, old people, bankrupt enterprises)."

These are problems affecting the government in its relations with the press as a whole. But they are more acute in the case of the local press.

"Interviews with leading reform politicians, analyses of hard-to-come-by statistics on the development of the reform process, and 'positive' facts in general, will in practice fall to the central press," the document states. "Criticism of the failures of reform policies will be the niche left for the local press where it can maintain its profile and provide the population with information."

The document therefore presents a list of four areas in which concrete steps should be taken:

A list should be compiled of the local newspapers which should be accredited to the Russian press center in Moscow. In addition, information should be gathered about these newspaper's circulation and their "social attitude."

Contacts should be established with local enterprises heads and organizations to see whether they are willing to "finance propaganda."

Lecturers should be sent out from Moscow to give the local press information about reform policies.

Contacts should be made with religious leaders and "representatives of various confessions" with the aim of influencing public opinion through this channel too.

"If local newspapers receive information which results in something other than exclusively critical articles with which to fill their columns, it will be easier for journalists (on these newspapers) to support the reforms or at least to publish objective information instead of exclusively subjective judgments," the document says.

Another document, written by a S. Kolesnikov and an A. Ulyukayev, gives little hints on television programs and article series which television and newspapers should be encouraged to produce.

A series of articles could be called "The ABC of Reform," for example, and explain to the readers of local newspapers the economic reforms in a simple and easily understood form.

Television's Channel 1 should launch as soon as possible a 15-minute daily program in which the elements of reform policy—"prices, privatization, wages, taxes"—are explained. To make the program more appealing to television viewers, Kolesnikov and Ulyukayev suggest that it could take the form of a cartoon series.

In itself not such a stupid idea if you know that many Russian television viewers do not know anything about free market prices other than bread prices trebled from one day to the next.

Burbulis, Poltoranin Meet Press Representatives

LD1301235292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino
Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT
13 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] By decision of the Russian Parliament, 13 January will henceforth be marked as Press Day. VEDOMOSTI, the first Russian newspaper, was brought out on this day 289 years ago. The current problems of the Russian press in market conditions were discussed when Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis and Minister Mikhail Poltoranin met journalists today.

[Correspondent V. Stepanyuk] The fact itself that this frank conversation was held precisely with editors and correspondents of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is, perhaps, not fortuitous. This is the most widely read newspaper in the member countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States now; it has managed to maintain its huge print-run. Gennadiy Burbulis sees the main task of the press, radio, and television today as persuading the people of Russia of the absolute necessity of reforms. We have no time, either, to doubt, sneer, or wait for a miracle in the best Russian traditions: what if we get away with it and start to produce more, distribute fairly, and live amicably?

[Begin Burbulis recording] The chief goal is, however, to clarify the main point of reforms. The state is ceasing to govern territories, regions, factories, or collective farms; it sees its task, instead, first and foremost, as changing

the system of interests, changing the root system of that expenditure-based, depraved, and militarized economy which excluded this goal. It had as a goal not the people's interests but an ideological and repressive task which had to be carried out at any price, primarily, at the expense of human needs. [end recording]

Press Minister Explains Newspapers Subsidies

LD1401061892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0500 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] The Russian Government is trying to create a civilized fourth authority in the form of independent media, Mikhail Poltoranin, Russian minister for press and media, said in his interview published in today's issue of the TRUD newspaper. Touching on the economic situation in the press in 1992, the minister reported that the Russian Government has prepared a draft on allocating almost 7 billion rubles to subsidize the periodical press, including such newspapers as SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and PRAVDA, and 1.7 billion rubles for the Russian Ministry of Communications. The policy of state favoritism will be carried out in respect of editions working for the revival of Russia, Mikhail Poltoranin stated.

New IZVESTIYA Weekly Goes on Sale

PM1001164992 Moscow in Russian 10 Jan 92
Morning Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "ZHIZN Weekly. On the Taxes You Will Be Paying in 1992"]

[Text] The first issue of ZHIZN, a new illustrated IZVESTIYA weekly, is going on sale to the public 10 January.

Apart from detailed information (with tables) about taxes for 1992, the weekly publishes reports from its own correspondents and special correspondents on living standards in Russian cities and neighboring countries and reports on the dramatic events in Tbilisi, Nagorno-Karabakh, and elsewhere.

The new rubrics are aimed directly at the reader: "Experts' Laboratory," an analysis of the quality of certain products and articles, including advice on what must not be bought on any account; "Stock Market News," information for business people; "Ignition Key," advice for motorists; and "Shape Up, Feel Good," suggestions for women who do not want to grow old...

Ask for the new weekly—it is about you and for you.

The minimum price of an issue is 1.90 rubles. If the salesman sells it at a higher price, the difference will be his lawful commission.

Publication of New Business Weekly Scheduled

LD1301120892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 2330 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] The publication of the first issue of the BIZNES MN weekly is planned for today. This new weekly is designed for as broad a readership as possible, ranging from managers of state enterprises and commercial structures to economists, practical workers, and specialists. Moreover, the weekly states its intention to make available to entrepreneurs of all levels practically useful information enabling them to find their bearings more easily in the business world and make use of it in everyday work.

The first three issues will be of an advertising nature and be circulated free of charge.

SEM DNEY Seeks To Assert Independence

LD1301232492 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1200 10 Jan 92

[Report by V. Skvortsov from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] On New Year's Eve, Yegor Yakovlev sacked the editor in chief of the weekly SEM DNEY, but by the evening of the same day he had changed his mind and reinstated him. The wrath of the chairman was caused by the independent thinking of the newspaper's staff and their intention to escape from departmental control in order to set up an independent mouthpiece with three cofounders—the former Central Television, Russian Television, and the paper's own collective. This idea seemed blasphemous to Yakovlev and he announced that he had no intention of giving up what was his. The mutinous SEM DNEY garrison reported this to their readers. Such lack of loyalty provided an excuse for accusing the paper of being second-rate, which could serve as an excuse for reorganizing it. The president's decree setting up Ostankino Television took all former Central Television employees off the staff. Contracts would be made with people who were needed. As for those who were not:

[Begin recording B. Shilov, SEM DNEY editor in chief] I reminded him of when MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI—and you were part of APN, that is, in the same position as us—was striving for independence, to which he said: APN Chairman Vlasov, who was working there then, was stupid to let us go. [end recording]

In Yakovlev's opinion Russian Television should look to set up its own mouthpiece. This would cost 60 million rubles which would, of course, come from your pocket and mine.

Pacific Fleet Press Restrictions Reported

PM1401115592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by correspondent G. Volynets: "Admirals Erect Chevaux-de-Frise"]

[Text] Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy—A blow to glasnost has been struck in the Far East. Admiral G. Khvatov, commander of the Pacific Fleet, has issued a decree according to which all journalists for military publications are banned from cooperating with civilian newspapers and all information can be made public only through the fleet's specially created press center.

The command of the Kamchatka flotilla has issued a decree as a guideline to action and banished from the Officers Center in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy the KRA-SNAYA ZVEZDA and BOYEVAYA VAKHTA correspondents who had been there. Their former correspondents' points have already been leased to cooperatives.

'RIA-TV' Broadcasting on Second Channel

LD1401020692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 2330 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Excerpts] The RIA-TV, a new Russian television company, will go on the air for the first time today. Unlike other television companies it has refused advertising activity. Specialists note that, nevertheless, it has every reason to play a leading role on the second Russian channel. Sergey Skvortsov, director general of the RIA-TV company, told a correspondent of the KOMMER-SANT weekly that RIA-TV has to develop from a producing company into a broadcasting and commercial one [as heard]. Unlike other newly founded companies, they have ruled against a joint-stock enterprise type and have decided to prepare a package of programs and to strive for independence on the air. In the future, the RIA-TV will be split into producing groups, each bearing responsibility for the financial well-being of its projects. As of today [14 January], RIA-TV will be on the air every second and fourth Tuesday of the month and every Tuesday as of July. The majority of programs of the television company are co-productions with RUS-TV. [passage omitted] According to Skvortsov, RIA-TV will not produce heavy political programs.

'600 Seconds' Host Interviewed on New Program

PM1401151992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jan 92 p 3

["Aloud About Rumors" feature comprising correspondent Nikolay Volynskiy report, plus interview with Aleksandr Nevzorov, presenter of "600 Seconds" program, by L. Shalygina of GALATEY news agency specially for PRAVDA; place, date of interview not given: "A. Nevzorov's 'Terrible Revenge'"]

[Text] After the attack on Aleksandr Borisoglebskiy, former producer of the "600 Seconds" television program, muddy waves of rumor unexpectedly began to spread about this event. The local democratic press, sometimes through vague insinuations and sometimes almost openly, began to link the attack with the name of Nevzorov, who allegedly still cannot forgive Borisoglebskiy for quitting "600 Seconds"...

To our total surprise, Borisoglebskiy himself hastened to exploit the fact that he had suffered a few wounds in the buttocks in order to unrestrainedly publicize his own future television program in the press and vigorously defame his former friend Nevzorov.

Soon a new sensation appeared in the press: Nevzorov is leaving "600 Seconds." This could also be understood to mean that he had been unable to endure the denunciations of his former creative colleague. Although let us immediately say that the "denunciations" are petty and quite disgusting—mostly about his private life.

But what about Nevzorov himself? Colleagues interviewed him at our request. [Volynskiy ends]

[Shalygina] Aleksandr Glebovich, are you really leaving "600 Seconds"?

[Nevzorov] Certainly not. I am staying. The whole city and more fought to get our program on the air. So how can I quit? It is just that we are starting to create a new program in addition to "600 Seconds." We want to call it "A History of the Russian State." But a history of our time. It will be a weekly 45-minute program and will require a lot of work and time, so I will be appearing much less often on "600 Seconds"—maybe just once or twice a week.

[Shalygina] Why did you pick that title for your new program?

[Nevzorov] "A History of the Russian State" is a revival of the tradition of Russian chronicles and a revival of the attitude toward life of N.M. Karamzin—the creator of the brilliant work whose title, not without trepidation, we have decided to borrow. It will be a program in the arts magazine style in which our "Kaleidoscopes" were made. But it will be on a larger scale, with material from the whole country. It will feature what is most characteristic, living history, which we want to record each week.

[Shalygina] But what is all this "history" with Borisoglebskiy? Judging from the newspapers, you threatened him with "terrible revenge" and promised to reduce him to director of a snack bar for betraying "600 Seconds."

[Nevzorov] He is going to end up as director of a snack bar anyhow, whether I do anything or not. But to be serious, the only thing that worries me is the life and health of Aleksandr Igorevich. Our collective is even prepared to club together and pay for a bodyguard for Borisoglebskiy to ensure that nothing worse happens to him. I am even prepared to give him airtime if Aleksandr has anything to say apart from the insinuations he has been spreading in the "gutter" press. I wish Borisoglebskiy further successes!

Regional Affairs

More on Yeltsin's Visit to Bryansk, Novozybkov

Criticizes Work of Chernobyl Committee

LD1401153692 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] After a brief interval, Boris Yeltsin has begun a second tour of Russian cities. Today the President is in Bryansk. Before his departure, Yeltsin denied a rumor that he is to resign from the post of head of government and also that Russian money reform is possible soon.

[Correspondent S.Milyanchikov] Boris Yeltsin is continuing his tour of Russia. This morning he arrived in Bryansk. One of the main problems in the oblast is eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl catastrophe. But this problem is being resolved extremely slowly.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] All in all, I owe the inhabitants of Bryansk a very great debt. I am frankly guilty. I promised them a visit a long time ago, but just could not make it. But now, at last, I have managed to get away on two trips, here to Bryansk Oblast and then to St. Petersburg. We will be examining Chernobyl issues because clearly the state program is being implemented poorly, the committee on Chernobyl is not doing its work properly in protecting the population. And this includes, or is even especially the case here in Bryansk Oblast. Then we will speak with the population and will meet with the leadership of the city and oblast to discuss these problems.

Unfortunately this year the money allocated has not been used. Do you see that? So it is not a case of financing, it is a case of organizing this work. The organization of work at the local level, the organization of the work of this committee. The request was that most of this committee should be based in Bryansk. Eighty-six people are based here. Now they should be asked what on earth they are doing. If we are financing this work then that is different and we, the government, can then be accused. But we cannot follow from Moscow the construction of each house for the resettlement of each family. Only local organizations can do such work. Unfortunately this work is not being done well. [end recording]

[Milyanchikov] Boris Nikolayevich did not step on to Bryansk soil this morning, remaining on the airport tarmac. He flew immediately by helicopter to the regions worst affected by Chernobyl.

Reacts to Government 'Reshuffle'

LD1401132192 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT
14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy and Yuriy Lodkin]

[Text] Novozybkov January 14 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met residents in the city of Novozybkov, near Bryansk, today to discuss ways of improving living conditions in areas hit by radiation fall-out from the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

Asked about a possible reshuffle in the Russian Government Yeltsin said: "A government is not a pair of socks one can throw away." "By the way, people are no longer throwing socks away," - he added.

After arriving in the city today, Yeltsin visited a local hospital and talked to doctors.

Reacts to Sausage Prices

LD1401224692 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent A. Anufrikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The agenda for Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's trip to the southwestern regions of Bryansk Oblast, which had been affected by the Chernobyl catastrophe, was almost completely wrecked. People mobbed him everywhere, spoke with passion about their misfortunes or simply complained. The Russian president drew conclusions and made decisions there and then.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] No, it is precisely now, when the people are suffering, one should need smoked sausage! Whereas the last time people ate it was, perhaps, at a wedding!

[Unidentified woman] People are very unhappy about the price.

[Yeltsin] Of course, of course.

[Woman] It is unacceptable to us.

[Yeltsin] And has the cheaper boiled variety been in the cafeteria at least once?

[Woman] No.

[Yeltsin] There were none in January you mean?

[Woman] No.

[Yeltsin] Well, I believe that this is a provocation. This director of the meat combine should be kicked out, he should be simply kicked out of work! These swindlers, they are doing this on purpose in order to make us to blame!

You should abolish trade directorates, you should make the shops legal subjects and let them have direct deals with wholesale traders and suppliers, directly as legal subjects. It is so clear, after all! What kind of a market is it if such telephone messages are coming from the top: You should set such and such price, not lower, let us show the president what prices we have here! They are simply provocateurs! [end recording]

[Anufrikov] In Bryansk, despite the measures taken by the militia, the situation repeated itself. Only the intervention of OMON [special purpose militia detachments] sub-units prevented a new Khodynka [reference to the incident during Nicholas II's coronation when many people were crushed to death]

Visits Factory, City Clinic

OW1401191992 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1815 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [14 January] morning Boris Yeltsin's tour of the Bryansk region began with Novozybkov, a regional centre most affected by the accident in Chernobyl in 1986. Mr. Yeltsin promised the 300 local residents who had gathered to welcome him, that the law providing the victims of Chernobyl with social guarantees, as well as other legal acts would shortly go into effect.

Mr. Yeltsin acknowledged that only two-thirds of the 1.8 billion roubles allocated to the Bryansk region to carry out clean-up operations, had been used, and said that soon the local radiological centre would be fitted out with the most up-to-date foreign-made equipment.

In front of a sewing factory, Mr. Yeltsin spoke about price liberalisation and urged people to wait another 6 to 8 months, saying that "all civilized countries had gone through this."

In the city clinic, the president was shocked by the news that it had practically run out of medicines. "This is through the mafia's fault," Mr. Yeltsin said and promised to instruct Minister for Security and Internal Affairs, Viktor Barannikov, to take adequate measures.

At a food store, Boris Yeltsin expressed indignation at the price on sausages—148 roubles for a kilo. "I think the meat-processing factory is engaged in sabotage," he said and ordered that the factory manager be dismissed.

Subsequently, Mr. Yeltsin met with the Bryansk and Novozybkov authorities.

On Tuesday evening, the Russian president will return to Moscow.

Meets With Local Officials

LD1401223692 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT
14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy and Yuriy Lodkin]

[Text] Bryansk January 14 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin focussed on "the Russian Chernobyl zone" during his brief visit to the Bryansk region today.

Right after his arrival in the airport, the president went to the epicenter of the Russian national ecological disaster zone—the town of Novozybkov, population 40,000.

In a meeting with representatives of town authorities and local residents, the president devoted special attention to the living and working conditions, the quality of medical service and supplies of quality food. He supported numerous suggestions for additional measures on the social protection of Chernobyl accident victims in Russia against the background of transition to the market.

Learning about the situation in the radiation contamination zone, Yeltsin voiced an opinion that a significant part of the capital investment allocated in the Bryansk region to solve Chernobyl problems should be used to build housing, cultural and service centers, and to develop infrastructure in populated localities which are not designated for obligatory resettlement.

Meeting administration heads of south-western areas, the president sharply criticized the activities of the state committee for management of the Chernobyl accident aftermath.

During one of many meetings on the streets of Novozybkov, the president categorically rejected the possibility of changing the government. He confirmed this opinion in the evening when meeting Bryansk residents.

Yeltsin devoted over two hours to a meeting with heads of the administration, deputies, representatives of trade unions, political parties and movements, and the clergy. They discussed a wide range of issues of the region's life and activities of the administration in light of the transition to the market.

As the meeting opened, the president was offered a chair under his portrait. Yeltsin was outraged and demanded that the portrait be immediately taken down.

The president left for Moscow late that night.

Fires Two Officials

LD1401211892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] On 14 January Boris Yeltsin, the president of Russia, completed his visit to Bryansk Oblast. As our correspondent Andrey Anufrikov reported from Bryansk, the Russian president visited the oblast's western regions which have been mostly contaminated by radiation. Yeltsin visited hospitals, and having looked at the shelves of food shops, he flew into a rage, after which an order followed to the head of the administration of Bryansk Oblast to fire the director of the local meat combine. A little later the latter's fate was shared by one of the deputy chairmen of the committee for clean-up of the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident. The Russian president also gave instructions for auctions to be abolished at once and for the shops to go over to direct ties

with suppliers. The news regarding the president's tough decisions quickly spread through Bryansk. The meeting at the oblast executive committee was postponed. People did not allow Boris Nikolayevich to enter the building of the executive committee, demanding insistently that he drop in at the town's shops. On Wednesday, 15 January, the Russian president will visit St. Petersburg.

Hunger March Held

PM1501133392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 15 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Sluzhakov report: "B. Yeltsin Has Visited Bryansk"]

[Excerpts] Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin arrived in Bryansk 14 January. [passage omitted]

In a conversation with your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent, E. Pamfilova, minister for the social protection of the population, noted for her part that the president's trip has spurred on something that should have been done earlier. Unfortunately, the law on the protection of casualties of radiation was lacking a clear implementation mechanism until recently, and only now have four contaminated zones and the group of people who should receive some kind of compensation and a pension been finally determined.

On 12 January news agencies circulated a report on a "hunger march" which was preparing to meet Yeltsin. A small rally was held under red banners at the Lenin monument in the city's Bezhiitskiy Rayon, where the demands were as follows: that prices be slashed, that the Russian president resign, and that Gorbachev be tried. According to information from the rayon internal affairs department, there were no excesses. The "hungry" took home the banners saying "No to the CIS! [Commonwealth of Independent States]," "Patriots Unite!," "Yeltsin, Lie Down on the Railroad Tracks As You Promised!"

Yeltsin Arrives in St. Petersburg for Visit

LD1501131592 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At Pulkovo airport, President Yeltsin was welcomed by St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] For Russia, apart from the Great Patriotic War, this is the most difficult time, for Russians, for Russia, for the government, for the president, for everyone who now lives in Russia, inasmuch as the Union leadership was unable to decide on such a reform over the course of seven years. We, of course, have been tardy with these reforms. If we had carried them out even two or three years ago we would already have climbed out of this deep pit which we dug over 70 years. [end recording]

President Yeltsin laid wreaths at the tombs of those who died during the siege of Leningrad.

Says Privatization Going 'Badly'

LD1501153192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino
Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT
15 Jan 92

[Report from St. Petersburg by correspondent S. Dukhavin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] This is the first time Boris Nikolayevich has visited the city on the Neva as president, because it is his first visit to St. Petersburg. At the airport, talk immediately turned to those things that worry all of us most of all.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Democratization is democratization, but in parallel with it there should be strong executive power. This power should make itself felt. This is my opinion. On the whole, in general the people have become bitter, but toward the end of the year we are sure that some kind of economic stabilization will start. This means a drop in prices accordingly and an improvement in people's lives.

But at the present time the most important thing is for us to protect the least protected, or the least protected strata, that is, pensioners, students, children, indigent people, and people on low incomes. They must be protected. Privatization, for all that, is going rather badly in St. Petersburg. Let's be frank about it, as in other places where it has still not really got going. In general, all the documents have been adopted by the legislators. The division into whose property it is has also been carried out—federal, oblast or, let's say here, municipal property. All the dividing up has been done. This is money from privatization accordingly. Perhaps there will not be that much of it. It will be channelled, first and foremost, exactly on the spot. It will be used for social support for the least protected strata.

Therefore, the impression on one hand is grave. On the other hand, people have not stopped believing. That is very important. They support reform, the overwhelming majority of them. [end recording]

[Dukhavin] When he entered the city, the president of Russia honored the memory of the city's defenders in the years of the Great Fatherland War. He laid flowers at the monument to the victors. Then Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin visited the city's sea gates, the commercial port. In a conversation with the dockers and seamen the issues of new forms of management were touched upon. The Baltic Sea Shipping Line, which transitioned to leasing a year ago, is the first in the country to take this path. The guest took a look at the waters of the port on the tugboat Neptune. He has ahead of him other meetings with townspeople.

St. Petersburg Radio, TV Protests Decree*LD1401205692 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1729 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 14 January (TASS)—The staff of St. Petersburg radio and television regard a decree changing the company's status as an attempt by the city mayor's office to take it over. At a staff gathering today they protested against the decree, which has been signed by Mikhail Poltoranin, Russian minister for the press and mass media; Yegor Yakovlev, head of the "Ostankino" All-Russian Television and Radio Company, and Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak.

According to the decree, an offshoot of "Ostankino" is to be formed in St. Petersburg and subordinated to the city's executive authorities. The television and radio workers see this as something unprecedented in any democratic state, virtually an ideological monopolization of broadcasting, and a censorship more stringent than even under [communist] party rule.

"The St. Petersburg Radio and Television Company should be a state organization, an incorporated entity, founded by the Russian government and its employees, with the same amount of broadcasting output as before," said a resolution adopted by the gathering. If the Russian government fails to respond to these and other demands, then the staff retain the right to strike. A strike committee was elected.

Kozyrev in Kaliningrad for Official Visit**Cited on Plans for Kaliningrad***LD1401152192 Moscow TASS in English 2259 GMT
13 Jan 92*

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—"There are possibilities to turn Kaliningrad region from a besieged fortress into an area of cooperation," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told the Russian TV news program Vesti on Monday [13 January].

He spoke of his immediate plans connected with his forthcoming trips to Tallinn, Leningrad and Bonn.

"There will be an exchange of ratification instruments with Estonia. I expect to bring with me four to five draft specific agreements on human rights, on citizenship, etc.," he said.

"In Bonn, in line with understanding reached with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic, there will be a bilateral discussion on the eve of foreign ministers' meeting in Prague," Kozyrev pointed out.

Touching upon the problem of ethnic Germans who live on the territory of Russia, Kozyrev said: "The majority of ethnic Germans in Russia are now intent to leave the

country. They were spurred on by the latest remarks made by the Russian president. They can be discouraged from leaving the country only provided a serious political decision is made to restore the Volga German Republic, at the old place and within the old boundaries."

Borders 'Absolutely Inviolable'*LD1401144792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[Text] There should be no doubt that Kaliningrad Oblast is Russian territory and that its borders are absolutely inviolable, Russian Foreign minister Andrey Kozyrev stated today at a meeting with oblast leaders.

Kozyrev reported that the forthcoming ratification of the treaty between Russia and Lithuania on 23-24 January is the starting point for continuing work on providing for the interests of Kaliningrad Oblast, as well as of the Russian-speaking population in Lithuania.

Cited on German Autonomy 'Problem'*LD1401182292 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT
14 Jan 92*

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Biryukinov]

[Text] Kaliningrad January 14 TASS—"Our government intends to do everything to solve the problem of German autonomy," visiting Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said here today. "It would be tragedy to let Russian Germans feel uneasy in Russia and continue to leave. It would be a loss both to them and Russia," Kozyrev said.

Kozyrev rejected the Kaliningrad proposal for solving the problem of German autonomy in the Volga region as absolutely unrealistic. "The region is densely populated as it is and the thing in question is their return to the historical motherland, not just any German autonomy," he said.

"The situation in the areas where Germans used to live long ago is uncertain," Kozyrev continued. "This is reflected in the Russian-German declaration signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his recent visit to Germany. The declaration favours complex formula for the solution of the problem. It stresses the humanitarian approach and calls for taking into account the interests of people now residing in the territory and of people planning to return there. The declaration emphasizes the need for mutual justice.

"In this context I don't think that something extraordinary happened during the Russian president's visit to Saratov: I guess they raised the question about ways, stages and practical implementation of this provision, as well as about a law on repressed peoples, which must be honoured," Kozyrev said.

Oblast Not Subject of German Talks

OW1401192192 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1815 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Kaliningrad region has not been and is not going to be the subject of special talks with Germany, because it is an integral part of Russia," said Russian Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev. On Tuesday [14 January], on the eve of his visit to Bonn, Mr. Kozyrev arrived in Kaliningrad where he met with the local administration, with the Baltic Fleet commanders and with the fishing-industry workers.

He assured the local residents that territorial issues did not figure in the agenda of the Bonn talks and said that cultural and economic contacts between Germany and this region should be based on inter-state agreements.

Asked about the future of the Baltic Fleet, Mr. Kozyrev urged "to observe the interests of the Baltic states, as well as the strategic interests of the Commonwealth and Russia."

The hosts drew Mr. Kozyrev's attention to a lack of coordination between some of the Russian laws and the concept of free economic zone, because this had scared away Russian and foreign investors from the Kaliningrad region.

Holds News Conference

OW1401215892 Moscow BALTFAX in English
2040 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a news conference in Kaliningrad January 14, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said that his visit shows that "the Russian government states about the unity of this most western region of the country with the rest of Russia." [sentence as received]

Kozyrev denied rumors circulating in the region that his visit is an attempt to study the possibility of creating a German autonomy in the Kaliningrad region.

The Russian minister touched upon relations between the Kaliningrad region and neighboring states, as well as development of the free economic zone "Yantar" on its territory. Kozyrev said in particular that the status of a free economic zone makes the Russian Foreign Ministry and the regional administration review their relations with regard to greater independence of the latter.

The minister also said he favors ratification of the Russian-Lithuanian treaty as soon as possible.

In the afternoon of January 14 Kozyrev arrived in Tallinn to exchange the bilateral treaty ratification documents with Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri. The treaty was signed by the leader of the two states

Boris Yeltsin and Arnold Ruutel in January 1991 and later ratified by the two parliaments.

In an interview with BF [BALTFAX] Kozyrev noted that the treaty had been concluded "at the most dramatic time for Russia and Estonia when the democratic character of our countries' fates revealed most clearly (it was signed during the period of tension in the Baltics following actions of the Soviet military).

During the meeting the ministers discussed problems in bilateral relations. In particular, Kozyrev said, there are some problems in the humanitarian sphere, however, the two sides want to settle them not through violence, mutual accusations and threats, but by legal means."

The Estonian Foreign Ministry press service says the talks focused on two issues: respect for human rights and Soviet forces' presence in Estonia.

Kozyrev stated that Russia understands Estonia's position toward the former Soviet Army, but asks the Estonian side to take into account problems arising from the withdrawal of troops.

In its turn, the Estonian side expressed readiness to build housing for the withdrawn units, as well as understanding of the necessity to withdraw the forces in stages and to guarantee Russia's security.

Volga Germans Say Emigration To Increase

PM1501154192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jan 92 p 1

[From PRAVDA-TASS roundup under the general heading: "Newsbeat"]

[Text] At a meeting in Saratov members of the "Freundschaft" German cultural center stated that emigration to Germany by Soviet Germans will increase after the Russian president's visit to Saratov because hopes of autonomy for the Volga Germans have now become more remote than ever. According to the meeting participants, it is unrealistic to expect Germans to be living as a compact population on the territory of the former autonomous republic in the next 10 years, and rejection of the very idea of autonomy will now intensify.

Moscow Soviet Views Price Hikes, Food Supply

PM1001164392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Jan 92 p 2

[Yuriy Makhurin report: "Not Even Enough Bread. Moscow Soviet Session"]

[Text] So we have lived to see the market. We expected everything from it, but the sudden surge in the prices of absolutely every commodity has discouraged even the most optimistic. Prices are free, yet people have ended up in dreadful servitude. They look with hatred at ham costing 1,000 rubles [R] per kilogram and sausage at more than R200, and rush off to the baker's. If they are

in luck, they can buy a baguette for R3. But many people are even finding bread in short supply now. The shadow of famine terrifies Muscovites. That is why the Moscow Soviet session discussed the food situation in the capital yesterday.

V. Karnaukhov, deputy premier and Moscow government minister, announced what was left in the capital's food stores. Enough butter for 25 days, vegetable oil for 32 days, flour for 50 days, groats for 70 days, macaroni for three days, salt for 23 days, sugar for 11 days, and meat products for just a few days. There are no matches or dried milk at all.

In the opinion of the member of the Moscow Government, the situation has improved since the onslaught of market prices. By 2 January there were 310 tonnes of meat products left, now there are roughly 900, while there are now 500 tonnes of sausage products in comparison to the figure of more than 200 tonnes before 2 January. Unfortunately, the speaker did not draw an obvious conclusion: These "luxuries" have become simply unaffordable for the poor, so "golden" sausages have appeared in abundance. To make up for it the lines snake toward the dairy stores since the prices there are fixed. That is, impoverished people can buy a packet of kefir. V. Karnaukhov "attributed" this to the fact that each liter of milk costing R2 is subsidized by R8 from the city budget.

He also complained that Muscovites are buying up (!) sugar, butter, and vodka. The speaker believes that the Russian Government has made a mistake in setting low prices for these products and that they should be raised immediately.

Deputies were indignant that food from abroad in the form of aid is ending up in commercial stores. S. Stankevich, Moscow Soviet deputy chairman, condemned that. At the same time he explained that EC food will be sold and the revenue will be used to pay compensation to those who are already living below the poverty line.

Deputies showered V. Karnaukhov with questions: Is the government thinking about social protection for veterans? The answers were discouraging. Order departments will disappear and everything will be sold at free prices.

Moscow Soviet Chairman N. Gonchar said:

"So Muscovites, including 2 million pensioners, have arrived at the market. We deputies cannot remain detached observers. We must formulate an alternative program for the transition to the market and privatization."

The speaker did not agree with the minister that order departments should be closed since there is supposedly no place for them in a market economy. Britain—a country with a classic market—had ration cards for some commodities for a long time. The Moscow Soviet head proposed creating a network of municipal stores where

people could buy a minimum number of goods at fixed prices (subsidized by the state budget).

A commission has been set up to prepare the Moscow Soviet's draft decision on protection for Muscovites in market conditions.

Yuriy Luzhkov said yesterday that the Moscow City Government which he heads is to resign.

(Details will follow in the next issue.)

Moscow 'Trade Mafia' 'Still Doing Business'

PM1001163192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 10 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Viktor Romanchin article under the rubric "Direct Approach to a Question": "Where Are We To Find Food?"]

[Text] I do not think that in the first week of the New Year anyone starved to death. Nor will they even in the first month. Not because the shelves in our stores are breaking under a surplus of what is now expensive food. There is no surplus, nor will there be. It is simply that we have begun with awesome force to annihilate our food reserves which, however meager, have been accumulated in almost every apartment. Pasta, butter, canned food, groats—everything that we put away during the long months of expecting life to deteriorate will now be put to use. This stock will not last long but at least on these meager rations we will be able to survive for a while.

Until the time to devastate these emergency rations comes, thousands of Muscovites are frenziedly raiding the stores. This, to be honest, is a waste of time because there is virtually nothing left in the stores.

There is no sausage, no meat, no sugar, no butter, no milk... According to figures from the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration's Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Administration, the situation in the consumer market is extremely tense. Shortfalls have been recorded in deliveries of all the main groups of commodities. At present 700 stores have no sausage, 600 stores have no sugar, and over 800 trade outlets have no vegetable oil. The egg situation is catastrophic: 900 stores have none. The impassive official statistics make even more gloomy reading. For instance, in the first 11 months of last year supplies of meat and meat products to the capital were over 170,000 tonnes short, around 500,000 tonnes short in dairy produce, over 400,000 tonnes short in sugar, and deliveries of butter, eggs, and other types of food were also below target.

Of course, all this has aggravated the already complex food situation that has developed in the capital. But here is a characteristic feature: At a time when the majority of us can scarcely make ends meet the trade mafia is not despondent but is still doing business. Speculation in food has recently become very broad scale. That is

demonstrated by the field reports of the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Administration. Recently this agency carried out a massive inspection of 659 state trade enterprises and 149 public catering outlets. Various violations connected with the siphoning off of goods and other types of abuse were exposed in virtually 50 percent of stores. Law enforcement agency workers hardly have enough time to institute criminal proceedings. Recently criminal proceedings were instituted against the director of a large self-service department store for violation of trade regulations. In a back room they found scarce goods worth 30,000 rubles [R].

The tobacco trade, apparently, was privatized long ago by wily operators. Recently, staffers from the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Administration thwarted the underground activity of one tobacco magnate. He was buying up imported cigarettes on the cheap and selling them at highly inflated prices.

Therefore, dear Muscovites, do not despair, there are still some goods in the city. It is just a shame that in the main they are not for us. But they do exist and that is a good thing. That there are things left in Moscow is demonstrated by the following fact. When implementing Deputy Mayor Luzhkov's order on the temporary restriction of the export of goods from the capital, law enforcement agencies returned various types of goods worth R30 million to the trade network including food-stuffs alone worth around R7 million.

Of course, this is a drop in the ocean for a city like Moscow. But have patience, dear Muscovites. The situation must be stabilized. The Moscow government and Russia's leaders have not forgotten you or your problems. Virtually every day begins with a discussion of questions connected with how to fill the stores with food. There have already been improvements. Soon humanitarian aid will begin to arrive from abroad. The independent states which owe the city food have also begun sending consignments. Meanwhile, tighten your belts a little more and have patience.

Joint Body To Regulate Moscow Construction

PM1401113692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, POST-FACTUM, AP column]

[Text] All questions relating to the allocation and exploitation of land for construction in the Moscow region will henceforth be resolved by a joint collegium of the capital and oblast.

The formation of the organ, which will include representatives of the governments of the regions as well as deputies at various levels, began 10 January. The collegium will be approved by the Russian president.

Moscow Firms Lack Raw Materials, Face Closing

LD1401230692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] The Government of Moscow, which resigned last week, for the time being is still carrying out its duties. At a routine sitting on 14 January it examined the question of supplies of materials and resources to the city's construction industry and municipal services. It was noted that the situation regarding supplies to Moscow of raw and other materials is now critical. Factories making reinforced-concrete products in the city could well come to a halt in five or six days' time. By the end of the month, the woodworking industry could do likewise. Linoleum production has already stopped; that of varnish and paint is about to. The Government of Moscow decided to ask for hard-currency aid from the Russian Government.

Local Regions Urge 'Boycott', Other Measures

LD1101050992 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT
10 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Leaders of various Russian towns react in different ways to the situation created by the liberalisation of prices. Member of the Presidium of the Lipetsk regional council Boris Petelin, for instance, urges the local population to boycott food products. "Everything we are witnessing after January 2, is a far cry from market economy," he said on local radio. "A civilised market must have private business and competition. We still lack them. Monopoly producers have arbitrarily established excessively high prices."

Some local leaders pin their hopes on barter trade, believing it will work wonders. Head of the Murmansk regional administration Yevgeny Komarov believes that up to 40 per cent of the goods, turned out by local enterprises, should be transferred to his administration, so that it could obtain the necessary food products by means of barter exchanges. Moreover, the region plans to "get the government's permission to leave at its disposal not less than 75 per cent of the hard currency profits made by local enterprises".

Head of the Nizhgorodsky regional administration Dmitry Bednyakov believes the privatisation of shops should no longer be delayed. He believes goods suppliers are now waxing rich on excessively high prices.

Local leaders seek additional sources of incomes. The Kuban administration has lifted the ban on the production of grape wines in the territory. Forty per cent of the money, earned by selling it, will go to the local budget and 60 per cent—to the territorial budget.

The Yaroslavl administration is setting up its own customs posts. People wishing to take food products, building materials and petroleum products out of the region, will have to pay 80 per cent of their cost as customs duty. The money obtained in this way will be

shared between the region, the districts and the "customs service" in the following proportions - more than 50 per cent, 30 per cent and 10 per cent respectively.

The Omsk regional administration is exploring possibilities to use military facilities and installations, as well as the land they occupy, for civilian purposes. True, the Omsk garrison commander told TASS that he never heard anything about it, although there were talks about the removal of certain facilities from the city. The general fears lest somebody gets the idea to sell tanks for hard currency.

The government of Moscow has also founded a loophole. It has resigned with Moscow's vice-mayor Yuri Luzhkov at its head, believing this will contribute to one more reform.

Food Prices Begin To Fall as Demand Plummets

PM1301144892

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 January 1992 Morning Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "For the First Time Since Liberalization, Prices Are Not Only Rising, But Also Falling" a 1,000-word roundup by Viktor Tolstov of correspondents' reports from around Russia on the price situation since liberalization. The introduction reads:

"On the market, a fair price is whatever the customer is prepared to pay for the product. And you cannot go higher than that, however much you may want to.

"In the first days of reform, loss-making enterprises in the agro-industrial complex, and not only them, pushed prices for their output so far skyward that customers simply could not afford them. Demand remained earth-bound, while supply was up there above the clouds. However, it became clear that the producers had by no means spared themselves the prospect of once again soaring aloft, only to crash to the ground. Because of the excessively high prices, the volume of sales fell sharply. The trade sector was the first to come to its senses, refusing to accept goods at exorbitant prices. Now the time has come for the producers to reconsider too."

Mikhail Ocharov reports that in Yaroslavl "stores have been forced to send produce back to the dairy combine" and stocks of sausage are building up at the meat combine because consumers will not pay the high prices. In Kursk Oblast, food stores saw a decline in sales of meat and butter but a rise in demand for bread. Here "realism is beginning to prevail over price tyranny," and meat and sausage prices are beginning to fall. Correspondent Vladimir Kulagin explains: "Things are very difficult now for state trade workers. They are no longer sole masters and distributors of goods, as they were before. Perhaps for the first time since the NEP [New Economic Policy] they are becoming aware of their dependence on the customer and his pocketbook."

In Irkutsk, because of consumer resistance, the meat combines are now refusing to buy meat from sovkhozes and kolkhozes at "excessively free prices," presenting the peasant with a problem: "On the one hand, he has to get rid of the livestock he has raised, to avoid wasting money on costly feed; on the other, kolkhozes and sovkhozes need huge sums of money for tractors, combines, and construction materials, prices for which have also been inflated beyond the wildest imaginings by the industrialists and commodity exchanges."

Sergey Zhigalov reports that in Samara cab drivers staged a protest at the oblast House of Soviets over increased fares, which are leaving them without clients yet facing increased costs. Fares are, however, likely to fall, as can be seen from private cab drivers: "They have swiftly come to terms with the limits of the new prices, and are calmly continuing to drive around the city."

The roundup concludes:

"There can be no doubt that the market will sort everything out. If, of course, the persistence exists to pursue the reform to the end. This is the beginning of a logical process of building a pyramid of market relations, where the figure of the consumer is at the top. Everyone below that is equally dependent on his wishes and his opportunities."

Meat Combines Reduce Staff, Output Volume

LD1401225192 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] One week ago when the shops began refusing goods that cost too much, we hoped that as a result prices would be lower. However, what happened was something else: the meat combines simply reduced the volume of output.

A report from Krasnoyarsk: Workers at the local meat combine have been sent on enforced leave. In the first 10 days of January, only 100 tonnes of the combine's output was bought by the trade network. The combine's production capacity is more than 35 tonnes a day. State and collective farms sell meat to the combine for a mere 85 rubles (R). Once the cost of processing and a 28 percent tax is added on, the product has doubled in price and no one buys it.

In short, there are no meat products and the meat combine is cutting back its staff. Enforced leave has also been announced at the Zakamensk meat combine in Buryatiya. Only 330 grams of the sausage produced here have been purchased in the past week. A similar situation exists in Ulan Ude. It is reported that in the Kuzbass miners now pay R70 for their lunch.

Ingush Denies Call for State of Emergency
OW1401181292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Husein Shaidiyev, a member of the People's Council of Ingushetia, said yesterday's (January 13) television report to the effect that the People's Council had requested the Russian government to introduce a state of emergency in the mainly Ingush-populated Sunzhen, Nazran and Malgobek districts of Checheno-Ingushetia was wrong. The People's Council, said Shaidiyev, had never made any such request. "This is a concoction aimed at setting two fraternal peoples, the Chechens and Ingushes, against each other," he said.

Only Chechens Allowed To Buy Food in Republic
LD1401225992 Moscow Programma Radio Odin
Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] According to a decree by Dzhokhar Dudayev, the leader of the republic, if people in the Chechen Republic want to buy food and consumer goods in shops they will have to show their passport bearing the stamp of a citizen of the Chechen Republic. This measure, the decree says, is aimed at protecting the consumer market.

Groznyy 'Bandit Attacks' Prompt Issue of Arms
PM1401164992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 2

[Lieutenant Colonel N. Astashkin report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Officers and Warrant Officers Issued With Personal Weapons"]

[Text] Groznyy—The incidence of attacks by criminal elements on sentries, daily detail officials, officers, warrant officers, and members of their families has increased recently in Groznyy.

There was a ring at the door of Major Yu. Zanochnik's apartment at about 1900 hours on 5 January. When he opened the door, two strangers suddenly attacked the officer and started to beat him up, demanding money and weapons. The officer's wife ran out on hearing his cries. The bandits started to beat her up as well. Both

were left unconscious from the blows they received. Having snatched some valuables, the robbers escaped.

Two unidentified persons broke into the territory of the post guarded by Junior Sergeant A. Poterukha on 7 January. They quietly snuck up on the sentry and struck him several times around the head. Having seized his submachine gun, the bandits escaped.

Literally two days later, an audacious attack was carried out on Captain A. Agrashokov, the duty officer for the separate training motor battalion.

These instances prompt serious reflections. According to information from various sources, not only will the hunt for weapons not stop in the foreseeable future, it will actually assume even greater proportions. Consequently, Major General P. Sokolov, chief of the [military] district training center, has promulgated a decree on the issue of personal weapons to officers and warrant officers.

"This decree," Maj. Gen. P. Sokolov said, "is a temporary measure. It has been promulgated with the aim of imposing regulation order on the territory of military installations, in order to ban the theft of weapons, munitions, hardware, and other materiel, and to stop bandit attacks on officers, warrant officers, and members of their families."

Chechen 'Emissaries' Buy 'Firing Installation'
LD1401113592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English
1936 GMT 13 Jan 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] According to some sources, military emissaries from the Chechen Republic purchased a Grad [as received] firing installation in the Far Eastern Military District PF [POSTFACTUM] learned from informed sources close to the military counter-intelligence department of the Far Eastern Military District, that the firing installation was purchased at one of the secret military bases in the Khabarovsk territory for R [ruble] 1.5 million in cash and carried away late in December, 1991, camouflaged as scrap metal. In addition to the firing installation, the Chechens were given several hundred pairs of large-size tarpaulin boots from old stock. The non-commissioned officers, who closed the deal, were discharged, but the military counter-intelligence service failed to find R1.5 mln received by them. The unit, to which the Grad installation belonged, was disbanded. Some officers believe this is connected with the attempt to conceal the incident.

International Affairs**Kravchuk Comments on Shaposhnikov Support***PM1301113992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1*

[Report by Sergey Tsikora: "Ruble No Longer the Currency in Ukraine"]

[Excerpt] Kiev—[passage omitted] At the very time when Russian President B. Yeltsin was trying to decide the future of the Black Sea Fleet, standing in the assembly area, where the Antonov Design Bureau's latest giant aircraft, now in series production at an enterprise in Ulyanovsk, were being put together, a conference of command personnel of forces stationed in Ukraine was being held in Kiev. The discussion was illuminating. The main butt of criticism was Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, whose contradictory commander in chief telegrams have sown confusion among the forces. An encrypted message to military districts containing the text of a new oath, whereby they were all supposed to swear loyalty to the Russian Federation, was the last straw.

When Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk read the document out to the conference participants and asked the commanders to clearly state their positions, there was a polarization of opinion in the hall. The commanders of the three military districts in Ukraine stated that one should not be in too much of a hurry to adopt the oath. The counterbalance was provided by the commanders of armies and divisions, who said that the forces should swear an oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian people as quickly as possible. As for the text of the new oath of loyalty to Russia, dispatched by the Defense Ministry of the nonexistent union, it was described by many speakers as an attempt by Russia, under its own flag and idea of a unified army and command, to protect a crumbling power.

L. Kravchuk remarked that he had supported Ye. Shaposhnikov as a candidate for the command post. Now he would try to rectify his error.

The conference adopted an appeal to the personnel of troop formations stationed on Ukrainian territory. Let me pick out two fundamental points. The conference believes, the document says, that Ukraine's implementation of the right to create its own armed forces has been accompanied of late by an unwarranted fueling of tension and misinformation of the general public. The second point concerns the oath, namely: the appeal to the personnel of all troop formations stationed in Ukraine to "make their choice and demonstrate loyalty to the Ukrainian people by voluntarily taking the military oath and conscientiously discharging their military duty."

Only 10 of the several hundred officers present at the all-Ukraine conference refused to support the text of the appeal.

Defense Minister Says Fleet Command in Dispute*PM1501112192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 1*

[Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report: "There is One Matter of Dispute Left Between the Ukraine and Russia, Colonel General K. Morozov Believes—To Determine the Fleet Structures That Will Be Part of the Strategic Forces"]

[Excerpts] State Minister Viktor Antonov and republic Defense Minister Colonel General Konstantin Morozov held a news conference 13 January on the results of the talks between Russia and the Ukraine on military-political questions. [passage omitted]

What is going to happen to the ships that are already being constructed on the stocks of Nikolayev, Kherson, and Kerch? The journalists were given the following answer: Everything depends on their state of completion. If this is in the order of 10-15 percent, or slightly over in the case of future cruisers and aircraft carriers, then they will suffer the fate of being turned into scrap metal, since quite simply neither the Ukraine nor Russia can take the very heavy financial strain of expenditure on the construction of capital warships. As was noted, small and medium ships are to continue being constructed.

Your correspondent asked the Ukrainian defense minister: What military-political problems are still in dispute between the two republics? The main one, Colonel General Morozov noted, is to clearly determine which fleet structures will be part of the strategic forces and under joint command. Other questions are not a matter of dispute.

Parliamentary Official Remarks on Russia's Role*AU0901111892 Vienna DER STANDARD
in German 9 Jan 92 p 3*

[Interview with Dmytro Pavlychko, founding member of the Ukrainian independence movement, Rukh, and chairman of the Foreign Policy Council of the Ukrainian Parliament, by Marianne Sajdik; place and date not given: "Recognition Is a 'Matter That Is Near to' Kiev's 'Heart'"—first paragraph is DER STANDARD introduction]

[Text] Vienna—Poet Dmytro Pavlychko, founding member of the Ukrainian independence movement "Rukh," is today the chairman of the Foreign Policy Council of the Ukrainian parliament (Rada). He was born in the Bukovina near Chernovtsy, his father was an officer of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. However, his first visit to Vienna is not nostalgic, but a "fact-finding mission" regarding future relations with Austria.

[Sajdik] Who will be the legal successor of the former Soviet Union and who decides on this?

[Pavlychko] The question of legal succession is inseparably connected with the heritage of the former USSR. The Ukrainian position is that the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), as well as the Baltic states and

Georgia, must be the legal successors. The property and debts abroad are distributed in terms of percentage among the successor states. Russia cannot be the only legal successor, all CIS members agree on this. A commission of the foreign ministers of the former union republics is deciding on this according to viewpoints of international law. Here Russia's position is important, but not decisive.

[Sajdik] What do you expect of Austria?

[Pavlychko] We want Austria to quickly recognize us and to establish full diplomatic relations. Sixty states have already recognized us. The Ukraine has declared itself neutral; recognition by neutral Austria is for us a matter that is close to our hearts. Austria has already supported the Ukraine's independence in the past (1918 and 1922). We are also hoping now for individual consideration.

We will open an embassy. For the time being we are represented by the permanent Ukrainian representative in the International Organizations in Vienna.

[Sajdik] What are relations like with the Russian embassies abroad?

[Pavlychko] The Russian embassies are very cooperative if Ukrainian property is to be traced abroad. We have already "struck oil."

[Sajdik] You see the Ukraine's future optimistically?

[Pavlychko] Yes, we are on the right road. The bloody events in Georgia prove that we have been right with our nonviolent policy, above all regarding the protection of minorities. Extremist organizations, such as Pamyat, with their anti-Semitic tendencies do not have a chance in our country. On the contrary, last September we opened a Jewish school in Chernovtsy, and all Russian schools and Russian newspapers continue to exist, even though 7 million Ukrainians in Russia are neither able to attend Ukrainian schools nor to read Ukrainian newspapers because these do not exist.

Minister Remarks on Visit to Poland

LD1501053992 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2033 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jan (TASS)—At a news conference held late this evening, Ukrainian Defense Minister K. Morozov expressed deep satisfaction with his visit to Poland. Ukraine is now a sovereign state, he said, and has been pursuing a policy of peace since the first days of its existence.

Poland occupies a special place in our relations, and it was with great gratitude that we received the Polish parliament's decision to recognize Ukraine's independence, the first country to do so. The hope was expressed that all of the best features that existed previously in relations between Poland and the former Soviet Union will be enhanced in the new relations between Poland and Ukraine.

From the first days of its statehood, Ukraine has encountered one of the most serious of issues: the creation of its own armed forces, and the drafting and implementation of a defense policy in keeping with the existing conditions within its borders. The fact that nuclear weapons are deployed on its territory is especially important. Morozov gave details of clear-cut timeframes, specified at Ukraine's initiative, for their destruction. Tactical nuclear weapons will be removed completely from Ukrainian territory by 1 July 1992. Strategic nuclear weapons also will be taken out of service, dismantled, and removed to central depots for destruction. By the end of 1994, the minister said, there will be no nuclear weapons in Ukraine, whose own armed forces will be nonnuclear. In forming its own armed forces, Ukraine will base its defense policy on the principle of minimum sufficiency, taking neighboring states' interests into account. Once its nuclear weapons have been destroyed, Ukraine sees itself as a nonnuclear state and is willing to accede to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In keeping with the declaration that it adopted back in 1990, Ukraine does not intend to join any military bloc or alliance in peacetime, and in wartime will adopt strict neutrality. Therefore, Morozov stressed, Ukraine's current membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States is dictated primarily by the need to carry out its program for destroying nuclear weapons and for participating in tackling our state's economic problems.

Speaking at the news conference, Polish Defense Minister J. Parys was upbeat in his evaluation of the negotiations. He was pleased to note that the opinions of the two countries' representatives coincided on a number of important issues, especially security. This, he said, not only changes the nature of relations between Poland and Ukraine, but also changes the situation in this part of Europe. Two states have emerged that were absent from the international arena for a long time, states that have no territorial claims and are well-disposed toward each other. If Ukraine's plans to dispose of the nuclear weapons on its territory become reality, then, Parys said, we will be able to affirm that the Ukrainian Armed Forces pose no threat to Polish security. The talks provided concrete results. Both defense ministries are to establish working groups; cooperation has been organized in personnel training, supplies of spare parts for military hardware and flight safety; and cooperation also has been organized between the First Corps of the Polish Air Force and the air forces based in Lvov. A military attache's office will be set up at the Polish Embassy in Kiev as a matter of urgency. Both sides, the minister stressed, intend in the future to base their security on cooperation rather than on arms buildup.

"This path to cooperation," Parys said, "has been opened today thanks to the coincidence of political goals. It is to a certain extent an exceptional event when the defense ministers of two countries forge peace and trust between their peoples." Parys stated that he had informed the Polish president and Council of Ministers about the course of the negotiations. Both the president

and the prime minister had expressed satisfaction that Poland and Ukraine are again standing together. This, the minister said in conclusion, is a success of our governments and our peoples.

Communique on Czech Delegation's Visit

AU1401130092 Prague CSTK in English 1331 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Kiev Jan 11 (CSTK correspondent)— A Czech Government delegation today made a commitment to provide medicine and radiation specialists free of charge to Ukraine to help counter the lasting effects of the 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

In a final communique, signed here by the Czech and Ukrainian deputy premiers at the end of the Czech delegation's three-day visit, the Ukrainian side pledged in return to resolve the financial issues connected with the transfer of funds belonging to Ukrainian Czechs who are moving to the Czech Republic to escape nuclear radiation.

Also contained in the communique were plans for the expansion of bilateral trade in freely convertible currencies, clearing and barter exchange, as well as the establishment of joint ventures and cooperation in technological research.

The Czech delegation, led by Prime Minister Petr Pithart, left Kiev after signing the communique.

Kravchuk Meets U.S.' Aspin on Military Issues

PM1301131192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[TASS report under the rubric "In the Commonwealth States": "Kravchuk on Ukraine's Military Doctrine"]

[Text] The Ukraine's desire to be a nonnuclear power was confirmed once again by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk during a conversation with a delegation of the U.S. Congress Armed Services Committee headed by its chairman, Les Aspin. Leonid Kravchuk reported that the Ukraine, as distinct from Russia, has no intention of joining NATO or any other military blocs.

We are now preparing, the Ukrainian president noted, documents and calculations to carry out our plan to remove all tactical nuclear weapons from our state by 1 July 1992 and eliminate all strategic nuclear potential by 1994. We would like this to be carried out under not just Ukrainian, but international control. Under the treaty between the USSR and the United States, 130 silos plus their missiles are to be destroyed over seven years. We, however, want to destroy all 176 of those on our territory, and in three years. It is the technical aspect of the matter which is the problem. Only one plant for the destruction of nuclear weapons existed in the former USSR, one located in the Urals. We have no such plant here. And we need the help of Western countries. But

even if such help is not given, we retain another option— simply to stand down our missiles.

"We are now organizing a reliable telephone link with Yeltsin, Shushkevich, and Nazarbayev which will not allow either one of us to use nuclear weapons without the agreement of the other three," Leonid Kravchuk stressed. "Any day now equipment will be installed in my office which will, if need be, lock the nuclear switch. That is to say, it will not be possible without our joint decision to carry out a launch from any point in the former Union."

Speaking about the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, Leonid Kravchuk noted that Russia claims it, because it continues to treat the Ukraine as if it were not an independent state. Yes, the Black Sea Fleet is at present part of the strategic forces and belongs to the CIS, but it in no way belongs to Russia. But under the Ukraine's military doctrine, all strategic [as published] weapons will be removed by July 1992. That also applies to those at the disposal of the Black Sea Fleet. After that, it will switch to Ukrainian jurisdiction.

Reports on Recruiting for Croatia Denied

LD1401201492 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] The Lvov newspaper ZA VILNU UKRAINU [For Free Ukraine] has refuted the reports by Moscow television journalists that this newspaper has allegedly agitated for the inhabitants of the city to join the Croatia national army. It is stressed that the newspaper has never published materials with such appeals on its pages. [words indistinct] publication on organizing in Lvov humanitarian help for those who suffered from the military actions in Yugoslavia. In the view of the creative collective of the newspaper, these facts have been deliberately distorted. Proceeding from this, some Moscow politicians did not like the recognition of the young Croatia state by the Ukraine.

National Affairs

Fleet Reportedly Not To Move to Mediterranean

OW1401192392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As many as 46,000 soldiers and officers have taken the oath of allegiance to the Ukraine. None of the servicemen in the Ukraine have taken the oath of allegiance to Russia, Ukrainian Minister for Defence Industries and Conversion Viktor Antonov, and Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov announced at a press conference in Kiev.

The servicemen who have not taken the oath of allegiance to the Ukraine may serve on a contractual basis or continue their service in another state. Those

who choose to stay will receive their salary in coupons and roubles, like the rest of the Ukrainian population.

The participants in the press conference said that the Black Sea military facilities located in the Ukraine, as well as their command, will belong to the Ukraine. The warships which are being built in the Ukrainian shipyards, if almost ready, will be built to the end. The rest will be scrapped.

The defence minister said that the Ukrainian fleet would not move to the Mediterranean.

The Ukraine does not intend to sell out its military property despite reductions in the armed forces. The equipment of the Ukrainian national army will be updated, said the ministers.

Number of Nuclear Weapons Withdrawn Reported

PM1401100192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Jan 92 p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel D. Anatolyev report: "Withdrawal of Nuclear Weapons from Ukrainian Territory Has Begun"]

[Text] Under the agreement signed by the leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] in Minsk, the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory for subsequent destruction has begun. This has been reported by RIA. The report has been confirmed by the General Staff Directorate. Operations are being carried out by highly trained specialists.

According to the experts' figures, there are 1,408 strategic warheads (on ICBM's and heavy bombers) and 2,605 tactical nuclear warheads on Ukrainian territory. The agreement notes in particular that until complete destruction is achieved, the nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian territory will be under the control of the joint command of the strategic forces to ensure their nonuse and dismantling by the end of 1994. Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk stated at a press conference 2 January that the nuclear weapons will be withdrawn from the republic's territory for the purpose of their subsequent destruction. All tactical weapons are to be removed before 1993 and all strategic weapons before 1994.

The decision on the destruction of nuclear weapons results from the CIS' confirmation that it will observe the international treaties of the former USSR and pursue a coordinated policy in the sphere of international security, disarmament, and arms control. The Commonwealth states are to implement the provisions of the START Treaty. In addition, in the USSR president's counter initiative of 5 October 1991 approved by the State Council, a decision was adopted on a deeper reduction of strategic offensive arms than envisaged by the START Treaty. By the end of the seven year period of reductions, the number of strategic nuclear warheads in our possession should be 5,000 and not 6,000 as laid

down by the treaty. The USSR also pledged to scrap all nuclear artillery munitions and nuclear warheads for tactical missiles.

The nuclear weapon withdrawal raises security questions—both ours and the world public are concerned about the accidental (unauthorized) use of nuclear weapons, especially tactical weapons, as the "most destabilizing" factor. The General Staff Directorate which KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent contacted and the missile forces and artillery headquarters of the Ground Forces artillery noted that unauthorized use has been ruled out. The storage of nuclear weapons is rigidly centralized and they are operated by highly trained specialists. In addition, each munition is equipped with a coded device which prevents anyone from using it unless a special coded signal is received from the General Staff; this, in turn, cannot be given without the consent of the political leadership.

Officers Urge Kravchuk To Control Delegation

OW1401195592 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1815 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of officers of the Carpathian Military District sent a letter to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk asking him to take control over the formation of an Ukrainian delegation to the All-Army Officers' Conference set for January 17 in Moscow.

The letter says the Ukrainian delegation should be composed not of representatives from separate districts, but of the national armed forces of Ukraine in general.

In the opinion of the Carpathian officers, the delegation must inform the All-Army Conference in Moscow about the Ukrainian parliament's and government's position on setting up the national armed forces.

In case this position is not accepted, the authors of the letter will refuse to attend the conference.

Border Guards Swear Allegiance to Ukraine

LD1401132792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino
Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT
14 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Subunits of the Western border okrug have sworn allegiance to the Ukraine.

[Correspondent V. Lyashko] The Soviet border with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Romania has ceased to exist. Now this border belongs to independent Ukraine. A blue and yellow flag has been raised at border crossings. People of various nationalities serve in the Mostiska separate border detachment, which is stationed on the busiest part of the Polish-Ukrainian border. For

example, about half of the officers there are not representatives of the native population. Nevertheless, most personnel regard with understanding the issue of taking an oath of allegiance to the people of the Ukraine. Only a few officers have expressed a wish to continue their service in other Commonwealth states. The oath of allegiance was taken both in Russian and Ukrainian.

The Ukraine is probably one of the first republics of the former Union to have started to acquire the attributes of statehood: its own army, its own—albeit temporary—currency, and now, control over borders.

Kravchuk Promises To Name Reformist Ministers

LD1401134392 Moscow Radio Rossi Network
in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] President Kravchuk of the Ukraine has said the Ukraine is in the process of settling its differences with Russia. In Kravchuk's words, the keenest difference, concerning the Black Sea Fleet, has been disposed of already. On this he expressed the opinion that President Yeltsin of Russia made a mistake in yielding to pressure and saying that this fleet would always belong to Russia. The Ukrainian president also stated his intention of replacing a number of ministers with younger leaders who advocate a rapid transfer to a market economy. He said that he soon will be announcing the composition of a group of Western experts who will be coming to the Ukraine to assist in restructuring the work of the economic, banking, and finance systems, as well as the administrative systems.

Socialist Party Proposes Economic Measures

LD1401234392 Kiev Radio Kiev Network
in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Our editorial office has received the statement of the extraordinary sitting of the political council of the Socialist Party of Ukraine [SPU]. The statement reads as follows:

The political council of the SPU believes that during price liberalization it is necessary to implement a number of urgent measures:

The prices on consumer goods and most essential services should be taken under strict control by the state;

To establish accessible limits for price levels on staple goods;

To introduce as a temporary measure a ration system, a distribution of vitally important goods;

To establish state subsidies and additional privileges on certain types of goods and services for the least socially protected citizens: invalids, pensioners, families with many children, studying youth and students;

To implement the proposals of the SPU political council concerning fighting speculation and corruption;

To publish and insure wide discussion by the population of the draft laws on denationalization [rozderzhavleniye] and privatization;

The Supreme Soviet of Ukraine should appeal to the supreme state bodies and the leaders of the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States with the proposal on intolerance in interstate relations of steps which threaten the ideas of the Commonwealth and bring harm to the peoples of the independent states.

Ministers Issue Resolution on News Agency

AU1001102792 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER
in Ukrainian No. 38-39, Dec 91 p 16

["Resolution by the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine on the Ukrainian National Information Agency (UKRINFORM)" adopted on 27 November 1991, No. 346]

[Text] Proceeding from the Act of Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence and for the purpose of creating conditions to ensure the high quality and efficiency of the information disseminated by the Ukrainian National Information Agency, the Cabinet of Ministers resolves as follows:

1. To transform the Ukrainian Information Agency at the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine into the Ukrainian National Information Agency (UKRINFORM).

To ratify the attached clause on the agency.

2. To authorize UKRINFORM to reorganize the dissemination of information and the activity of the Agency's subsections and also to organize the rational distribution of the agency's departments, correspondents, and press photographers within the Ukraine and abroad, in such a way as to guarantee the most comprehensive gathering and dissemination of information with optimal use of funds on these goals.

3. To resolve that the gathering, processing, translation, and dissemination of materials (including the cost of communication channels) by UKRINFORM for the Ukrainian Supreme Council, Cabinet of Ministers, and other state organs of the republic are conducted as a complex of work to fulfill the needs of the state and must be remunerated from the republican budget.

4. The Ukrainian Ministries of the Economy and of Finance, in planning the development of the national economy, must provide a separate line in the balance sheet for the activities of UKRINFORM and, in order to ensure the normal functioning of the agency, to supply it with material and technological resources in the way that has been established for state committees.

5. To resolve that the necessary channels and means of communication of the enterprises within the system of the Ukrainian State Committee for Communications are leased, on the basis of agreement, to UKRINFORM, its

departments, and correspondents for gathering and disseminating information; for that reason, the contributions from correspondents and fax telegrams will be transmitted through the communication channels of the Ukrainian State Committee for Communications and treated as government telegrams, whereas telephone conversations will be granted when necessary and treated at a second level of urgency.

UKRINFORM and its departments will pay for all types of services provided by state organs of communications and by other enterprises and organizations in accordance with state prices and tariffs.

6. UKRINFORM and its departments must be given the right to establish prices for the information that they produce and tariffs for the services that they provide in Soviet rubles or foreign currency, with the exception of the prices for services that are provided in accordance with Paragraph 3 of the present resolution.

7. UKRINFORM and its departments must be given the right to independently determine the size of fees and salaries to be paid to the workers, the rises in salaries, awards, and other encouragement payments, as well as the size and order of paying authors' fees for all types of work, proceeding from the available capital meant for the remuneration for labor, and taking into account the agency's financial standing; they may also determine their own structure and personnel, regardless of the number of workers in various categories.

8. In order to create necessary conditions for the implementation of the tasks set before UKRINFORM that involve an improvement of its activity, development of the material and technological base, and resolution of social problems,

to exempt, in 1991 and 1992, UKRINFORM and its departments from the part of their income tax that goes to the republican budget;

to allow UKRINFORM to use independently all the profit from their commercial activity and the capital derived from other sources of extrabudgetary financing to this end;

to allocate, in 1991, after obligatory settlements, up to 90 percent of the currency income earned from exporting products and services to the currency fund of UKRINFORM;

to grant the agency the right to perform barter operations involving the purchase of equipment for the gathering, processing, and dissemination of information as well as for publishing activity; the agency may purchase films, including video films, and photographic equipment, and may receive services from foreign information agencies and departments; these may be repaid from the funds earned as a result of selling the agency's own information products, fulfilling orders for information materials, providing facilities for advertising, communication services, translators, and so on, to foreign agencies.

9. To establish the composition of the board of UKRINFORM with a total of 11 persons, including deputy directors. To apply to the UKRINFORM director, his deputies, and members of the board the terms of remuneration for labor and medical services as provided, accordingly, for heads of state committees of the Ukraine, their deputies, and board members.

10. To consider the following resolutions as no longer valid:

the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [UkrSSR] of 19 January 1972, No. 19 "On the Transformation of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR Radio and Telegraphic Agency of the Ukraine (RATAU) into an Information Organ of Union and Republican Significance (Collection of Resolutions of the UkrSSR, 1972, No. 1, Article 6);

the resolution by the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR of 8 June 1972, No. 274 "On Approving the Clause on the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR Radio and Telegraphic Agency of the Ukraine and the Structures of Its Central Apparatus," with the exception of item 5;

the resolution by the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR of 5 March 1991, No. 51 "On the Size of Subscription Payment for the Information That Is Transmitted by the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR Radio and Telegraphic Agency of the Ukraine";

the resolution by the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR of 16 May 1990 No. 110 "On Renaming the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR Radio and Telegraphic Agency of the Ukraine (RATAU)" (Collection of Resolutions of the UkrSSR, 1990, No. 5, Article 30).

Belarus**Government Establishes 'Exit Tax' at Border***LD0901164192 Moscow TASS in English
1207 GMT 9 Jan 92*

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Minsk January 9 TASS—Every person from the new Commonwealth will have to pay 100 roubles to pass through the border checkpoint in the Belarussian city of Brest beginning January 13, according to a decision by local authorities. Since the checkpoint is situated on a highway and all people are travelling by car, the authorities are also demanding a 600-tax for a car, 1,500 for a minibus and 6,000 roubles for a coach. All the proceeds will go to the city council.

The authorities did not specify whether foreigners will have to pay the "exit tax" as well.

Borders To Close With Latvia, Lithuania*LD1401032292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Jan 92*

[Text] This year Belarus will close its borders with Latvia and Lithuania. As a TASS correspondent learned from government sources, on the border with these Baltic states frontier posts will be built. The exit and entry regime will be implemented according to the normal situation between sovereign, independent powers. The installation of border construction to protect the borders with Latvia and Lithuania will cost the republican treasury approximately 1,000 million rubles.

Kostenko Interviewed on Military Matters*LD1401160192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino
Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT
14 Jan 92*

[From the Novosti newscast]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus has passed a resolution confirming the authority of Colonel General Kostenko, commander of the troops of the Belarus Military District, until a republican minister of defense is appointed. He has been entrusted with control over all armed forces throughout the republic.

[Begin recording] [Kostenko] The Supreme Soviet passed a number of very serious documents. One of the most important of these is the text of the military oath, which was approved by the Supreme Soviet. Moreover, the procedure for taking this oath envisages it being taken by servicemen called up in October and November of 1991, in other words, mainly young soldiers. In future, the situation will change, and when the question of setting up its own armed forces—which is the right of every republic—arises, then the question will also arise of officers and warrant officers taking an oath of allegiance to the Belarus people.

[Correspondent A. Zhuk] The strategic armed forces remain, as before, under the command of the combined forces of the countries of the Commonwealth.

[Kostenko] This contingent of troops, which is subordinate to the Council of Ministers, does not comprise strategic forces, but rather only general purpose troops, which were effectively part of the Belarus Military District, and some units under central subordination. [end recording]

Country 'In No Hurry' To Increase Military*PM1501104792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino
Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT
13 Jan 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Report by A. Guretskiy]

[Text] [Announcer] One of the latest decisions made by the Belarus Supreme Soviet was to establish a republic ministry of defense. At the same time the text of the oath to be taken by troops stationed on the republic's territory was adopted.

[Guretskiy] Despite all this, the scions are in no hurry to set up their own, national army. The military building will take place in two stages.

This decision stems from the Belarussians' character and from the difficult situation in which they find themselves—a situation whereby Chernobyl has left more scars on the republic's territory than a war might have done.

During the draft last fall, five in 10 young men, that is half of them, were not accepted for military service because of poor health. This is why the republic is planning major troop cuts. According to Lieutenant General Petr Chaus, the Belarus defense minister, 30 percent of the funds allocated for the purchase of hardware and weapons will be switched to the construction of amenities, specifically housing, during the current year. The first five residential estates for servicemen's families are already under construction and will be handed over within 12 months.

Shushkevich To Meet With Commonwealth Leaders*OW1401194792 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1815 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Council Stanislav Shushkevich has confirmed that on January 16 he will arrive to Moscow to meet with the leaders of the other Commonwealth nations. In an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX] he noted that for the time being he cannot say who of the presidents will attend the Moscow meeting. "Russian President Boris Yeltsin will be there, Leonid Kravchuk is also likely to attend, however, he may be late," Shushkevich said.

Speaking about plans to create an international economic coexistence within the Commonwealth, Shushkevich pointed out that a new structure is necessary, because "the Inter-republican Economic Committee is gone." He welcomed searches for new options of the economic coexistence within the Commonwealth.

Asked about his opinion on the fact that the Russian president conferred the rank of Colonel-General to Belarussian Defense Minister [name indistinct] (the decree was published January 14), Shushkevich replied that it is a logical result of Chaus' long-lasting service in Russia.

Shushkevich Interviewed on Current Issues

LD1401231692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Report from Minsk by correspondent Leonid Sviridov]

[Text] The eighth extraordinary session of the Belarus Supreme Soviet continued its work in Minsk on 14 January. The deputies discussed Belarus' plan and budget for 1992, but in the corridors of the parliament questions were hanging in the air to which journalists could not find an answer.

In order to find out the official point of view, I turned to Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus. I asked: What was your attitude toward the project for setting up an international economic commonwealth which was published in the central newspapers? Stanislav Shushkevich replied: I read this plan but I cannot say that I have studied it thoroughly. Our economic experts should study this. Possibly the international economic commonwealth will be the new structure, since the Inter-republican Economic Committee has died. Therefore, I welcome the search for new variants of economic coexistence in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS].

Regarding the meeting of the heads of the CIS member states on 16 January, the Chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet said: Yes, I will be in Moscow. Boris Yeltsin, the president of Russia, will be there. I cannot say about all the others. It is obvious that president of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk will also come, possibly after some delay.

Belarus Minister for Defense Affairs [ministr po delam oborony] Petr Chaus has been made colonel general. A decree raising his rank was signed by Boris Yeltsin. How should one view this? After all, the Belarus minister of war [voyenny ministr] was handed his new rank by the Russian president. The view of Stanislav Shushkevich was as follows: I assume that this is the result of the many years of service of Petr Chaus in Russia. After all, he has always been serving somewhere else, not on the territory of Belarus, so why must we resolve these matters in Minsk? Therefore, Yeltsin's order is perfectly logical.

Debate Continues on Creating Local Currency

LD1401191292 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1812 GMT 14 Jan 92

[by BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 14 January (TASS)—More than 1 billion rubles have been allocated in the Belarus state budget, the debate on which was started today by the republican parliament, toward creating the printing base for the issue of its own money. This may be set up as early as the end of the current financial year.

Specialists are divided in their assessment of this step by the government. Some hold that a national currency under conditions of disintegration of the economy, openness of borders, and absence of a proper customs service will certainly share the fate of the ruble and that the billion will simply be thrown to the winds. Others, in the first instance supporters of the republic's complete independence, assert that this is the only path toward achieving true sovereignty and getting out of the economic crisis.

You will recall that the republic has already taken a first step toward its own currency by introducing coupons for the absolute majority of products and goods.

Grachev Opens Turkish-Built Housing Complex

PM1401112092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Gayaz Alimov and Gennadiy Charodeyev:
"Turkish Construction Workers Show Class"]

[Text] Borisov—Using the cliches of old-style Soviet journalism, what Turkish construction workers have done in the Belarussian city of Borisov could be called a "focus of leading experience." And indeed, workers from the Enka [as transliterated] firm have completed in less than six months the construction of a splendid residential group of 12 apartment blocks with 725 apartments for servicemen.

The acute situation that has developed over the billeting of troops being withdrawn from Germany and the countries of Eastern Europe is well known. As Pavel Grachev, first deputy commander in chief of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, stated at the handover ceremony of the Borisov residential quarter, 72,000 apartments will be required for the groups of forces returning home from abroad. There are 200,000 officers and warrant officers without apartments in the army today. Considering the potential of our own construction base, you can imagine how long they will have to wait for a roof over their heads. Belarussian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich, who was also present at the ceremony, acknowledged frankly that "this is beyond our own powers."

The 7.8 billion marks appropriated by the FRG Government specially for the construction of housing for servicemen withdrawn from Germany must be used very

quickly. And of course, the pace of construction offered by the Turks, who, incidentally, won an international competition, is 100 percent to our liking.

Now, wasting no time, the Turkish construction workers are starting a new construction project—also in Belarus, in the city of Slonim...

Moldova

Text of Snegur Protest Message to Yeltsin

LD1401131492 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network
in Russian 0700 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Telegram from Moldovan President Mircea Snegur to Russian President Boris Yeltsin on 13 January]

[Text] Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich:

I am forced to address you concerning the fact that recently there has been an increase in the number of instances of encroachment on the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Moldova. Forces openly against the Alma-Ata accords and in favor of maintaining the former Soviet empire are creating bridgeheads for themselves on Moldova's left bank [of the Dnestr River] and are inciting public opinion. Last year's August putsch once again showed that the reactionary forces of the former USSR, striving to take revenge for their defeat, are a detonator in that region.

Attention is drawn to the fact that these forces increasingly frequently are receiving moral, and sometimes material, support from outside. On 11 January this year the Ostankino Radio and Television company's "Novosti" newscast reported the case of an armed attack by irregulars of the so-called Dnestr Republic against a troop unit military column that remains subordinate to the commander of internal troops of the Interior Ministry of the former USSR, portraying this as a courageous and noble action by guards of the Dnestr preventing the supposedly illegal removal of weapons from their territory.

On 12 January this year materials were presented tentatively, with the aim of misinforming the world community, on the alleged transportation of weapons from neighbouring states. While respecting the right of journalists to their own view of events, we cannot but note that such provocative information destabilizes the sociopolitical situation in the Republic of Moldova.

Also, we cannot agree with such things because at the Minsk meeting of the leaders of the Commonwealth states it was decided that the Ostankino television company would represent the interests of the Commonwealth of Independent States countries and would respect their constitutional structure.

Citizens of Russia, generously paid by local separatists, also often take part in the armed raids of the so-called Dnestr guards. This is nothing other than a mercenary action, which in UN documents is described as a threat

to international peace and security, and like murder, piracy and genocide, is everywhere a crime against humanity. A number of UN resolutions emphasize that the use of mercenaries contradicts the basic principles of international law.

The latest, most blatant, act directed against friendship and cooperation between Russia and Moldova has been the attack by hooligan elements against the permanent mission of Moldova in Moscow on 13 January this year. We resolutely protest on this matter and we hope the Russian authorities will take the appropriate measures to punish the guilty and create normal conditions for the functioning of that institution in the future.

The listed instances of interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Moldova are causing grave concern. I request that you issue instructions to the appropriate organs to ensure that such actions are not allowed to happen. As president of the Republic of Moldova, I declare that we are doing and will continue to do everything possible to ensure that relations between Moldova and Russia are of a friendly nature, in full accordance with the agreements reached and with the generally recognised norms of international law.

[Signed] Mircea Snegur

President of the Republic of Moldova

State Property 'Pilfered' Under Privatization

OW1401233092 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2035 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [14 January], a special parliamentary commission informed the Moldovan parliament that state property was being pilfered under the cover of privatisation. Even the presidential decree banning the privatisation of the public sector before the adoption of a comprehensive privatisation programme did not put an end to that. Two hundred and seventy major light-industry, furniture, footwear and instrument-building enterprises have been reorganized into worker-owned enterprises and joint-stock societies, or leased out with the right to subsequent redemption.

Despite the absence of a law on the privatisation of housing, 5,873 flats have been privatized, 1,118 of them after the adoption of the presidential decree banning the privatisation of housing.

The commission believes that the current economic crisis was largely through the fault of the broker cooperatives which did not manufacture anything. Out of the almost 6,000 cooperatives, 1,500 are engaged in broker activity. They have not paid back the loan of 73 million roubles to the bank.

Trade Unions Demand Strict Price Control

LD1401162492 Moscow TASS in English 1437 GMT
14 Jan 92

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS correspondent]

[Text] Kishinev January 14 TASS—The Moldovan Council of Independent Trade Unions has demanded a strict control over prices, fees and exchange of commodities to block exports of goods from Moldova.

The appeal to Moldovan leaders proposes to relieve citizens of taxes on life supporting goods and services, to adopt anti-monopoly laws, to provide for newly-calculated compensations and pensions and to secure urgent aid to the impoverished.

Group Protests Snegur Call For Referendum

AU1201191292 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
8 Jan 92 p 1

["Declaration Against Mr. Snegur's Referendum" by the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" Association—date and place of issue not given]

[Text] The "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" Association [PBBA]—having taken note of the statement made by Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, concerning the possibility of organizing a referendum on Moldova's return to motherland Romania—declares:

1. According to international law, no referendum can be held in a territory which is under foreign occupation.
2. All Romanian territories were brutally occupied by the Soviets as a result of an alien treaty and an ultimatum, not through referendum.
3. In the almost 50 years of Soviet occupation, the structure and mentality of the population in all these territories was seriously altered through genocide, exterminations, mass deportations, forced emigrations, and loss of national awareness, followed by massive colonization with foreign ethnic elements—a process which continues.
4. In these conditions, the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" association categorically rejects the idea of a referendum or any other form of consulting the population, considering them manipulations to stop Bessarabia from rejoining the fatherland.
5. We want all our lands to belong to our country and we know that the Romanians beyond the Prut River say: "We want to unite with the country."

Therefore, we ask Romania's Government and parliament to take a prompt and unequivocal stand against such antinational initiatives.

[Signed] The "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" Association
The Romanian National Council

President Snegur Swears Oath of Loyalty

LD1501114792 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0951 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By MOLDOVA-PRES correspondent—TASS]

[Text] Kishinev, 15 Jan (TASS)—President Mircea Snegur, elected to this post on 8 December 1991, today took an oath of loyalty to his people at a festive session of the Moldovan parliament.

In his address he stressed that one of the most difficult problems now is the creation of a governmental team capable of providing for cooperation between all of the political forces which desire the prosperity of the small state of Moldova.

The president said that the cornerstones of his internal policies will be the principles of democracy, observance of human rights, and the equilibrium of the three powers: legislative, executive, and judicial. The primary role in this, Mircea Snegur stated, should be played by the new constitution of the Republic of Moldova, the adoption of which, in his opinion, needs to be accelerated.

Military Provision Law Submitted to Parliament

LD1101180092 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1211 GMT 11 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev, 11 Jan (TASS)—Servicemen from the armed forces set up in Moldova have lost the right to be members of any party or political organization and the activities of parties within the army structures has been banned. This is stated in a draft law on social and legal provision for servicemen which has been submitted for consideration to the Moldovan parliament.

In exchange, they are granted the right to be members of any religious community and to take part in religious rituals in their free time. Reserve officers of the Soviet Army who have taken Moldovan citizenship and have joined the national army retain their service rank.

Three Provisional Consular Offices To Open

AU1401184892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1204 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/1/1992—Chisinau [Kishinev] government adopted a decision on "the opening of

provisional consular offices of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Moldova", in order to facilitate the getting of entry-exit visas for tourists and officials.

According to the decision, in the first quarter of 1992, three provisional consular offices will be opened of the Foreign

Ministry of the Republic of Moldova, at Chisinau Airport, Ungheni crossing point and Leuseni crossing point, says MOLDOVA PRESS.

Transit and entry-exit visa fees will be paid in hard currency, in compliance with the tariffs approved by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Moldova.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev, U.S. Envoy Discuss Relations

LD1401203492 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1828 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 14 January (TASS)—Matters relating to the development of direct bilateral economic relations, particularly American investments in Kazakhstan, were the focus of the conversation today between Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Robert Fauvre, a representative of the U.S. Secretary of State, who is here.

Documents on granting Kazakhstan most-favored-nation status in the sphere of trade and the establishment of favorable taxation should be agreed on and signed before Nazarbayev's upcoming visit to the United States in the first half of the year.

Robert Fauvre reported that the United States will host a conference of representatives from major Western countries on problems of providing humanitarian aid to the states of the Commonwealth, including Kazakhstan. President Nazarbayev noted that the Republic is interested in obtaining food, medicine, and fodder grain.

Nazarbayev, Shaposhnikov Discuss Defense Issues

LD1401153592 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1420 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 14 Jan (KAZTAG-TASS)—A range of defense issues was discussed today during talks between President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev and Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], who has arrived here, the president's press service reports.

The president noted in part that Kazakhstan consistently calls for the preservation of united armed forces within the framework of the Commonwealth and it will adhere loyally to this path no matter how events develop in the future. The elaboration of a general outline on military matters; prevention of the management breakdown of military bodies, units, and subunits; and measures to protect servicemen socially are now of special importance. The armed forces should be subordinated both to an overall command structure and to the authorities of the independent states. The agreement that strategic troops be subordinate to one body was confirmed.

Speaking about nuclear weapons, Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed that they remain on the territory of Kazakhstan; however, the republic will participate in all international accords and processes relating to their reduction. The need for the states of Central Asia and Kazakhstan to work out a unified stance on defense matters was also noted.

On completion of the talks, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov stated that he was satisfied with their outcome. A stable foundation has been laid in Kazakhstan for resolving complex defense matters of the CIS, a clear stance is being maintained there regarding the unity of the armed forces, and much is being done to provide social protection for servicemen. Furthermore, the marshal pointed out in particular that the previously controversial issue of the military oath has virtually been resolved. Servicemen of the joint armed forces will swear loyalty to the people and not to any republic or president.

Comment After Meeting

LD1401191692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1551 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] A meeting has taken place in Alma-Ata between President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces. They discussed the fate of military units in the territory of the republic. Our correspondent Dukezh Bualbetov asked the president and the commander in chief to share their thoughts with us after their conversation.

[Begin recording] [Shaposhnikov] Our work with the President of Kazakhstan has proceeded faster and more constructively than was the case where the Ukraine, for instance, was concerned. Of course, there is just no comparison here. In general, I now have the hope that at the conference, which is to be held in Moscow on the 16 January, the president will present constructive ideas and I am glad that these constructive ideas will come from the president of Kazakhstan.

[Bualbetov] What constructive ideas, specifically?

[Shaposhnikov] Specifically, for example, that the Armed Forces should be a single entity within our CIS. The command should be centralized, but shared to some extent between, I mean, the military command and the civilian leadership, the president of Kazakhstan in particular.

One can say provisionally that we will have a military-administrative part of the control, this area will involve the civilian authorities; and the operational command, command of the combat training and back-up and so on and so on. That is, I have the feeling here that we have a good foundation for resolving all the questions in a normal manner. The main thing is the mutual understanding that this question should be resolved without any suffering by the officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers.

On the question of the oath we have a good decision, or at least for now a proposal. We shall take an oath in the interests of the Commonwealth and not in the interests of just one people because our army is still united.

[Bualbetov] So, will the oath be taken to the Commonwealth, or ...

[Shaposhnikov, interrupting] I think that the oath should go like this: First, there should be a point that the serviceman, I mean the soldier, pledges himself, swears allegiance to his people. He pledges himself to fulfill the Constitution of the state where he serves. And thirdly, to fulfill the demands of commanders and superior officers. This is an oath which is in accord with what is now going on here. Because, Kazakhs serve in Russia, Russians may serve in Kazakhstan, and so on.

As for officers, I think that it is not necessary to bother the officers with any oaths. They have already taken an oath once—to the Soviet people—and it is not the officers' fault that the name of the people has been changed from the Soviet people to the people of the CIS.

[Nazarbayev] We have agreed that Kazakh nationals who serve in republics, in states which impose their own oath upon them, will have an opportunity to return to us and continue service, I mean, in their republic as a citizen of that republic. We are organizing this.

Together with all the rest who support the unity of the Armed Forces, and I include Kazakhstan among these, we should do everything during this period that is difficult for servicemen to guarantee that they receive social protection and ensure that our troops can perform their military duty with confidence. [end recording]

Nazarbayev, Managers Discuss Defense Sector

LD1401174492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Vladimir Cherkizov]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 14 January (TASS)—On 13 January President Nursultan Nazarbayev met managers of defense sector enterprises, mainly to discuss the grave condition of Kazakhstan's defense industry in the absence of state orders for its principal products. These orders used to account for up to 80 percent of some factories' total output.

The defense sector representatives requested that the republican leadership provide credits for temporarily idle specialists to be paid, and also for conversion measures which, as early as this year, could significantly improve the situation in Kazakhstan's consumer market.

According to them, Kazakhstan could derive considerable economic benefit from selling arms to Commonwealth of Independent States members as a way of financing its own contribution to the upkeep of the joint strategic forces, and also from directly selling nuclear power plant fuel on the international market. They also advocated scrapping quotas and licenses for raw materials and components to make it possible to maintain horizontal links with the military-industrial complex of the Commonwealth's other members and, in this way, resume normal operation.

President Nazarbayev said that he has already begun talks with neighboring states, primarily Russia, on reciprocal abolition of quotas and licenses on supplies. He has instructed republican organizations to find ways to advance a 1 billion ruble credit to the defense industry for this year.

Closure of Bacteriological Test Range Demanded

LD1301135492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] Mukhtar Shakhanov, chairman of the Aral-Asia-Kazakhstan international committee, dropped a bombshell today in a speech to the seventh session of the Kazakhstan parliament.

Citing foreign sources, he told the deputies about weird and wonderful goings-on within the republic. On the Aral Sea, an island called Vozrozhdeniye [Rebirth]: In Shakhanov's opinion, a more accurate name would be Vyrozhdeniye [Degeneration], because for five decades now bacteriological weapons have been tested there, with terrible consequences.

Only the ill-famed Semipalatinsk range has a worse public reputation than this notorious island. Together, they occupy 18 million hectares of fertile land in Kazakhstan. Not only ground, but also atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons and even neutron bombs have been held at them.

The Aral-Asia-Kazakhstan committee has issued an appeal to heads of state [not further specified] demanding the closure of the terrible range on Vozrozhdeniye island. Thousands of people living near the Aral have signed it.

This was a report from the AZIYA press agency.

Minister Denies Nuclear Agreements With Iran

LD1401194592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1809 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, January 14 (TASS)—Deputy Prime Minister Daulet Sembayev of Kazakhstan has refuted a report, published by AL-ANWAR weekly, that the "construction of three nuclear warheads has started in Iran from parts delivered from Kazakhstan."

In an article published in the newspaper IZVESTIYA today, he described this report as "an act of provocation, having nothing in common with reality and intended further to destabilize relations between the states of the former union."

According to the magazine, which is published in Tunisia, the Kazakh authorities, who are now in control of the nuclear weapon producing plant in the town of Kurchatov (Semipalatinsk-21), have completed talks with the Iranian leadership and have sent 50 nuclear scientists and specialists from the former USSR to Iran to supervise the production of nuclear weapons there.

"I can give official assurances that the Kazakhstan Government has signed no agreements of this kind and has no intention to," Sembayev stressed.

Also today, Aleksandr Medvedev, assistant to the minister of nuclear power engineering and industry, told a news conference in Moscow that no Soviet scientists with nuclear knowledge have left for other countries, in particular for Middle Eastern countries, recently.

At the same time, according to the Kazakh deputy prime minister, the Kazakh leadership is studying possibilities for producing weapons for exports. The republic has an extensive network of defense enterprises left over from the collapsed Soviet Union. Not to use their potential "would not be sensible, especially as trading in arms is a generally accepted business, unless it violates international legal norms," he said.

Daulet Sembayev also stressed he is not aware of a single case where a nuclear scientist was recruited to work abroad. "I also do not know of a single case where an offer of such recruitment has come from either an Eastern or a Western country," he said.

Report on Warheads Sold to Iraq 'Refuted'

LD1401102792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English
1546 GMT 11 Jan 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text]—Sergey Tereshchenko, Kazakhstan prime minister, refuted messages in foreign mass media concerning sale by the Republic of four nuclear warheads to Iraq on January 11. Tereshchenko told PF: There were such rumors. I assigned KGB to check it. Firstly, we have no nuclear weapons, we just have half products or quarter products. Someone wants us either to quarrel or to sow suspicion. In any of his speeches, Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbaev always says that we are a peace-loving state. Tereshchenko also said that Kazakhstan will reinstate planting opium poppies: On a small scale, this is a valuable raw material, and that raw material should be produced in order to solve medicinal problems.... We are not going to get now what we imported earlier. Answering a question whether or not the allocation for drug trafficking control will be increased, the republican prime minister said: In order to allocate any money, we first have to earn it.

Emergency Measures Taken To Reduce Prices

LD1001215792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today the Kazakh Government is taking emergency measures to reduce the price of bread and dairy products. The government is finding an additional 10

billion rubles for subsidies for these products. The question of subsidies for meat products is also being worked on. That is, there is closed circle of subsidies.

Measures 'Insufficient' To Stabilize Economy

OW1101190792 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1633 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Kazakh parliament passed a resolution Saturday [11 January] saying that the economic situation in Kazakhstan continues to worsen, production declines, material and financial imbalance and inflation are increasing.

The resolution notes that the measures taken by the republican Cabinet are insufficient for stabilization of the economy, the implementation of the economic reform, in particular, privatization and denationalization.

Within a week the Cabinet is to ensure the implementation of the republican president's decrees lifting restrictions on wages, raising salaries of budgetary organizations' employees and taking additional measures on social protection of the Kazakh population issued December 12 last year.

The Cabinet has been recommended to speed up printing and introduction of multiple coupons, to promote non-cash payments for goods and services and other forms of economizing cash in order to protect the republican consumer market.

Trade Unions Oppose New Price Policy

NC1201110892 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri
1800 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] The Council of the Federation of Kazakhstan Trade Unions has strongly opposed the liberalization of prices in Kazakhstan. It has described the development as a blow to workers, bringing poverty to hundreds of thousands of citizens in the republic. The council called for a new minimum wage and a change in the amount of money paid to workers and pensioners, including social subsidies.

Parliament Passes Resolution on Economic Zones

OW1201210592 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1745 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan's parliament adopted a resolution on setting up new free economic zones in East Kazakhstan, Mangistaus, Alakul and Zharkent.

The East Kazakhstan economic zone will be based on a smelting complex. In terms of copper and zinc resources the area is one of the richest in the CIS [Commonwealth of

Independent States]. Besides, it houses several joint ventures engaged in processing farm produce and leather, manufacturing garments and producing medicines.

The Mangistaus zone is located in West Kazakhstan. It includes Caspian Sea islands and continental shelf. It has considerable resources of oil, gas, brown coal, ferrous and non-ferrous ores, phosphates, sulphates and building materials.

The Alakul and Zharkent zones adjoin China. They hope to attract foreign investment to develop mineral resources, promote farming and render various services to Soviet exporters and foreign companies acting locally.

Nazarbayev Meets With Miners' Representatives

LD1001161592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Report by D. Baimbetov from Alma-Ata; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] At the height of miners' strikes in Russia and the Ukraine, when coal miners in Karaganda also became restless, Nursultan Nazarbayev visited there. The miners and the president found a common language. It seems that when Nazarbayev received representatives of the Karagandaugol and Ekibastuzugol Associations in Alma-Ata, there were not any special differences. Raising wages was one of the miners' main demands. They had been doubled, but this is not enough today. A 30-percent regional coefficient to supplement wages has become necessary.

Improving living conditions is the next issue on the agenda. Additional money for developing the social sphere could be obtained by raising prices for Ekibastuz coal. It is the cheapest now: a tonne is sold for only 31 rubles whereas a tonne of Krasnoyarsk coal of the same quality is sold for 95 rubles.

Nursultan Abishevich supported the miners' proposal and promised help. At the same time, he noted that enterprises themselves should show initiative and earn currency and become true masters.

Miners Urge Cabinet Resignation

OW1401134392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1215 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 15 out of 26 mines of the Karaganda coal basin were on strike on Tuesday [14 January] morning. There are a total of 110,000 miners in the region. According to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, economic demands are now accompanied by a call for the resignation of the Kazakh cabinet. On Monday [13 January] night the republic's Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko left for Karaganda.

From the very beginning of the labor action the miners have been demanding a 15% share of their coal and a general tariff agreement with the government.

Metal Combine 'Overwhelmed'

LD1401124592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] A powerful wave of strikes has overwhelmed the workforce of Kazakhstan's mines. Yesterday virtually every second enterprise in the Karagandaugol Association was on strike. Many enterprises in Kazakhstan's coal industry have ceased to receive the necessary amount of equipment, spare parts, and pit butresses because of the breakdown of established economic ties following the collapse of the USSR. This has naturally entailed a fall in coal extraction and a decrease in miners' earnings, and the price liberalization has only exacerbated the situation.

The effects of the strike are already beginning to show: Three of the four furnaces have virtually shut down at the Karaganda metallurgical combine. Steel smelting and sheet metal production have come completely to a halt. It cannot be ruled out that soon heating will disappear from apartments.

Prime Minister Meets With Miners

LD1401222992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Today Kazakh Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko, who has arrived in Karaganda, met representatives of the city's miners collectives. He proposed that miners together with the government should find answers to the many questions that arouse their concern in connection with the transition to a market economy. The situation in the mining basin is extremely complex. Following price liberalization, the miners of the Tentek mine who have been on strike for a month now have been joined by another nine from the towns of Abay, Saran and Shakhtinsk. The losses can now be measured in millions of rubles. The strike is a tangible blow not only to Karaganda Oblast but also to the whole economy of Kazakhstan.

Tajikistan

Shaposhnikov Arrives To Discuss Military

LD1501073192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0630 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Dushanbe, 15 Jan (TASS)—Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces, arrived in the capital of Tajikistan this morning. The purpose of his visit is to coordinate the positions of the leadership of the Republic of Tajikistan regarding future CIS Armed Forces, including border troops. Marshal Shaposhnikov will have a meeting with Tajikistan

President Rakhmon Nabiyev, soldiers and officers of the Dushanbe garrison, and recruits to the republican National Guard.

Expresses 'Satisfaction'

*LD1501131892 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1215 GMT 15 Jan 92*

[By TADJIKTA correspondent Salokhiddin Ergashev]

[Text] Dushanbe, 15 Jan (TASS)—Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces, who is in Dushanbe within the framework of a working visit to the capitals of the Commonwealth Central Asian states, met Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev today. The president acquainted the commander in chief with the positions of the leadership of the republic on defense issues.

On completion of the conversation, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov expressed satisfaction with its results, stressing that the position of the leadership of Tajikistan remains unequivocal and "directed at preserving a single armed forces within the framework of the Commonwealth."

Nabiyev Meets With Iranian Delegation

*LD1401232492 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network
in Tajik 0120 GMT 10 Jan 92*

[Text] Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev met with the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran on 9 January. Congratulating the guests on signing the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Iran and Tajikistan, he said that the people of Tajikistan are in favor of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. The president of the Republic of Tajikistan said that his first foreign trip would be to Iran.

In return, Abbas Maleki conveyed greetings on behalf of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the foreign affairs minister of the country. He added that Iran is prepared to assist the Republic of Tajikistan in becoming a member of the United Nations.

National Guardsmen Take Oath of Allegiance

*OW1201184192 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1445 GMT 12 Jan 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A 36-strong unit of Tajikistan's National Guard was the first to take the oath of allegiance in Dushanbe on Saturday [11 January]. The text of the oath is hardly different from that of the former Soviet Army. The only difference is the sentence: "I am always ready to come to the defense of the Republic of Tajikistan and to defend it to the last drop of blood by order of the president of the republic".

National guardsmen whose term of service is 1-5 years include representatives of various nationalities residing in the territory of the republic, an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent reports. The guard is intended, in particular, to protect the most important facilities and leaders of the republic.

Major-General Bahram Rahmanov, the commander of Tajikistan's National Guard, was the first to take the oath of allegiance.

Supreme Soviet Endorses First Quarter Budget

*LD1301073692 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0940 GMT 11 Jan 92*

[By TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 11 Jan (TASS)—After a two-day debate, the Tajik Supreme Soviet has endorsed the republic's extraordinary budget for the first quarter of this year. A deficit of over 250 million rubles has been allotted. There was heated debate over articles in the bill which deal with funding for internal affairs bodies, national security, border troops stationed in the republic, and other paramilitary organizations. A majority of deputies said that funds earmarked by the republic's government for these bodies were excessive and beyond the republic's means at a time when it is experiencing a profound economic crisis. As a result, parliament decided to make sharp cuts in the funds earmarked for the Committee of National Security, the National Guard, military recruiting offices, and especially paramilitary organizations like the Committees for Civil Defense and Promotion of Defense. It is planned to spend the funds so released on increased social subsidies for the population in compensation for the deregulation of prices. It has been decided that most of the future deficit will be covered by proceeds from privatization and the dismantling of state control over republican assets, by a new prices policy and other market measures.

Turkmenia

Shaposhnikov Arrives To Discuss Defense Issues

*LD1501111692 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1047 GMT 15 Jan 92*

[By unidentified TURKMEN PRESS correspondent]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 15 Jan (TASS)—Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander of the united armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, arrived in Ashkhabad this afternoon. He will meet with Saparmurad Niyazov, president of Turkmenistan, with the aim of discussing a number of defense issues.

Country Could Get Caspian Flotilla Base

OW1301135092 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1230 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Aleksandr Bogdanov, member of the Presidential Council of Turkmenistan and commander of the Central Asian Border District, the next meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state and government may discuss the future of the Caspian Flotilla. He told IF [INTERFAX] that "in the event of the Caspian Flotilla's division, one of its bases near Krasnovodsk should go to Turkmenistan." This, Bogdanov said, would provide the border district with sufficient naval equipment.

Military Discipline Resolution Adopted

LD1301221392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English
1134 GMT 11 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Turkmenian state administration bodies are going to provide an all-out assistance to military units stationed in the Republic and families of servicemen.

It was noted at the January 9 meeting of the Presidium of the Turkmenian Supreme Soviet that discipline had declined and desertions had become more frequent following the introduction of local residents' military service in their native Republic. All this, accompanied with insufficient guarantees of social rights of servicemen and their families has resulted in a weakened combat readiness of troops.

The Presidium of the Turkmenian Supreme Soviet on January 9 adopted a resolution on strengthening cooperation between Turkmenian state administration bodies and military command and on strengthening military discipline. The resolution makes it incumbent upon local authorities to organize supervision over army service conditions, take necessary measures for ensuring social rights of servicemen and their families, and strengthen sponsor ties with troops. The resolution lays a special stress on the duties of deputies at all levels to conduct educational work with parents of servicemen aimed at heightening their children's responsibility for fulfilling their service duty.

President Introduces Regulated Prices, Wages

LD1301185892 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT
13 Jan 92

[By TURKMEN PRESS correspondent Nina Chunakova]

[Text] Ashkhabad January 13 TASS—President Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenistan signed a decree today to introduce regulated prices of a number of foodstuffs. This step is aimed at enhancing the social protection of the population in the light of the liberalisation of prices.

Earlier, fixed prices were set for some varieties of bread, milk, curds, vegetable oil, meat, rice, sugar, baby food and other food products of prime necessity.

The presidential decree instructs the heads of ministries, departments, enterprises, institutions and organisations to ensure the payment of a twice as large advance to workers in January, as compared with that in 1991, and revise wages to almost treble it by the pay-day.

The Turkmenistan Ministry of Public Education and other ministries and departments which have educational establishments have been instructed to make payments of increased grants to post-graduates, students of institutions of higher learning and students of secondary specialised and vocational schools ahead of time, on January 13-18.

Increased pensions, the minimum size of which will amount to 350 rubles, shall be paid in February.

President Issues Decree on Press Agency

LD1301233192 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT
13 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Palaria]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—By a decree of President Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenia, the union republican TURKMENINFORM news agency has been transformed into a state news agency, "TURKMEN PRESS", a spokesman for the staff of the republican president told TASS.

In accordance with the decree, a draft statute of the agency shall be elaborated within a month in coordination with the republican Ministry of Justice and submitted to the Government of Turkmenistan for endorsement.

Murad Karanov has been appointed the director of the "TURKMEN PRESS" agency.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Discusses Gamsakhurdia's Future

OW1401182892 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan had a meeting with a Georgian delegation in Yerevan yesterday to discuss the further stay of Georgian ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia in Armenia.

A member of the Georgian delegation, Giorgi Khaindrava, informed our correspondent that President Ter-Petrosyan had said Gamsakhurdia's departure for either the Chechen Republic or Georgia was out of the question. But he thought the ex-President might go to some other republic or state should it be willing to accept him.

Gamsakhurdia on Hunger Strike

LD1501091292 Moscow TASS in English
0754 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Voronkov]

[Text] London January 15 TASS—Ousted Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has been on a hunger strike for three days protesting "illegal detention by Armenian authorities", his personal representative in London said in a statement.

To ensure the security of the president, the help "of international legal community" is needed until "free elections are held in Georgia", the spokesman said.

The lawfully-elected president should be given an opportunity to leave Armenia together with his family and escort. The Armenian leadership "bears full responsibility for the health, life and freedom of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia", the statement reads.

Azerbaijani Irregulars Seize Arms at Border Post

LD1401160592 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1427 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Znamenskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—A guard post of the Nakhichevan border detachment came under attack today. A TASS correspondent was told at the Committee for Guarding the State Border that Azerbaijani irregular fighters managed to get through to the guard post by seizing border guard officer Oleg Krupin at his home early this morning when he was resting after his turn of duty. They took the lieutenant to the gates of the guard post and threatened retaliation against him unless the sentry handed over weapons. Their demand was met. The irregulars then got into the weapons store, where they seized about 50 firearms and a large quantity of ammunition.

Fuel Oil Shortage Closes Down Industry

LD1401222592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Industrial enterprises in Armenia have been able to function for only three days; they will again close down from 14 January by decision of the Republic's Central Commission for Survival of the Economic Blockade.

[SNARK agency correspondent Armen Dulyan] This is because rail traffic from Georgia's direction has been stopped by strikes, and from Azerbaijan's direction no fuel oil is arriving. Power cuts have become longer. Many parts of Yerevan have been without light for days. Since the beginning of the year the subway has suffered over 30 power cuts. [passage omitted]

'Asala' Army Claims Attack on Turkish Envoy

LD1301100792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 11 Jan 92 p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "In a Few Lines"]

[Text] An announcement by the Armenian secret liberation army, "Asala," circulated in Yerevan 9 January says that this group takes full responsibility for the 19 December 1991 attack in Budapest on the Turkish ambassador to Hungary. The announcement says that this act "was aimed against Turkish intelligence and the Azerbaijan KGB operating in Eastern Europe against Armenians and Armenia" and also against Armenian Artsakh (the Armenian name for Nagorno-Karabakh). "Asala" adds that "the Turkish state will constantly remain our target as long as it refuses to recognize the Armenian people's rights."

Armenian-American Appointed Energy Minister

NC1301212292 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International
Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has issued a decree appointing Sepuh Tashdzhyan, a U.S. resident, as minister of energy and fuel.

Tashdzhyan, 57, was born in Jerusalem and settled in the United States in 1956. He is a University of Southern California graduate. He is a power engineer and a specialist on business management and has worked for the Edison Company for the last 30 years.

Azerbaijan

Shelling, Epidemic Reported in Stepanakert

NC1401162292 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network
in Armenian 1500 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Azerbaijani National Army units and OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] subunits fired

Alazan and TG-12 rockets at Stepanakert, the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, in the early morning of 14 January, causing destruction. Ten peaceful citizens were injured. There are also epidemics of various diseases in the city, particularly affecting children.

There is a severe shortage of flour and fuel. The link with the outside world has been severed.

For the last two days Gadрут has been fired on from nearby Azerbaijani settlements and there have been injuries. There is urgent need for a surgeon.

Power Cut, Pipeline Repaired

NC1301073292 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] While public attention for the past three days has been riveted on the deliberations of the newly elected parliament of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, the situation there has remained tense and alarming.

Combat operations continued around Berdadzor village in Askeranskiy Rayon on 9 January. Early in the morning, Azerbaijanis from Khodzhalı raided the road leading to Berdadzor and attacked the village. The self-defense forces repulsed the attack and freed the road. Two Armenians died and others were injured during the clash. There is no clear information about the attackers' casualties, however, various sources report that five Azerbaijanis were killed.

On 8 January a passenger car was attacked by Azerbaijanis on the road leading from the village of (Shorch) to Karintak. Three passengers were killed, three are unaccounted for, and three were injured.

The exchange of fire continues daily in the suburbs of Stepanakert, mostly in Kirkidzhan. Armenians have suffered no losses there.

For the past three days, Stepanakert and its suburbs have been deprived of their power supply. The power was cut off at the Agdam grid. There is no power in Gadrutskiy and Askeranskiy rayons either.

Fortunately, the gas pipeline has been repaired and the population is now receiving gas.

Nagorno-Karabakh Elects First Deputy Premier

NC1201210192 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] During its regular session the newly elected parliament of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic examined the standing orders of the Supreme Soviet and after prolonged debate reached an agreement on the parliamentary standing commissions.

After Prime Minister Oleg Yesayan's proposal, Boris Arushanyan was elected first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Parliament instructed the prime minister to formulate a Council of Ministers and present it for parliament's confirmation within a month.

It was also decided to temporarily transfer the Supreme Soviet's functions to the former executive committee and the Council of Ministers's functions to the former economic planning department.

Turkey First To Sign Protocol on Relations

TA1501081692 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2100 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] The protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan was signed today in Baku by Ambassador Simsir on behalf of Turkey and Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Guseynagi Sadykhov on behalf of Azerbaijan.

According to the ANATOLIA press agency, during the signing ceremony Sadykhov remarked that it is particularly pleasing that Turkey is the first country to sign a protocol to establish diplomatic relations with Azerbaijan. In his statement, Simsir said that Turkey has been closely following Azerbaijan's independence efforts from the beginning. The protocol signed today constitutes the natural outcome of the developing relations between the two sides, he added.

The Republican Assembly of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus [TRNC] declared its Azerbaijani counterpart a brother assembly. Two decisions unanimously adopted at the Republican Assembly today stipulate the development of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between Azerbaijan and the Nakhichevan autonomous republic and the TRNC.

According to TAK [TURKISH CYPRIOT NEWS AGENCY], the two decisions, which declare the parliaments of Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan as brother assemblies, also call on these two assemblies to adopt similar resolutions. The two decisions also express the wish to develop the brotherhood and cooperation with the parliaments of Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan through reciprocal visits and to continue the solidarity in every field.

Decree Issued To Strengthen Economic Legality

LD1501025392 Moscow Radio Rossi Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Report by Azer Khalilov from Baku on Azerbaijan President Mutalibov's decree to strengthen economic legality published on 14 January]

[Text] The decree says that the shortage of food and prime necessities connected with the sharp drop in production and the disruption of deliveries from other regions is intensified even more with the continuing deficit, the increase in prices, and the drain of goods from state trade. With a view to ensuring the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens of the Azerbaijan

republic, President Ayaz Mutalibov resolved: The Azerbaijan Cabinet of Ministers is to take urgent measures to ensure that food and industrial goods assigned through state funds, and delivered to the republic through centralized state purchases, reach the consumer both through enterprises of state trade and through enterprises, organizations, and institutions at the workplace. Moreover, the Azerbaijan Trade Ministry has been instructed to step up the activity of auditing services under its jurisdiction and to take the necessary measures to achieve that the population's provision with food is guaranteed. The Azerbaijan National Security Ministry and the Azerbaijan Internal Affairs Ministry have had the duty imposed on them to ensure the carrying out of prompt measures to detect facts of bribery and theft. Moreover, the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet National Council has been instructed to speed up the adoption of laws on bankruptcy, on increasing liability for illegal trade activity, anti-monopolist legislation, and other laws necessary in the period of transition to market relations. The Azerbaijan general procurator, the internal affairs minister, and also the national security minister must each inform the Azerbaijan president monthly of the state of, and the progress in, the struggle against crimes in the economic sphere.

Georgia

Legal Proceedings Begin Against Gamsakhurdia

LD1401184992 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1735 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 14 January (TASS)—Legal proceedings are being taken against former Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the Republic's procurator General Vakhtang Razmadze announced at a news conference today.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia is charged with "incitement of ethnic strife, embezzlement of state funds on an especially large scale, misuse of office, and destruction of architectural and historical monuments." He is accused, in particular, of "provocation and escalation of the conflict in South Ossetia, appropriation by himself personally and members of his family of large sums of foreign currency and tens of millions of rubles, and of the use of arms on Prospekt Rustaveli, causing the destruction of especially valuable Georgian historical and architectural monuments."

Sigua on Charges, Violence

LD1501063492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0300 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent Georgobiani Rizo on news conference held by Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua in Tbilisi on 14 January]

[Text] After describing the present Georgian situation as complex and explosive, Tengiz Sigua said that on 13

January two armed confrontations were registered. The first confrontation occurred in the region of the town of Sukhumi, where an armed attack on a military unit by a group of people, who remain unknown so far, took place. As the result of an exchange of fire, one serviceman was killed and several were wounded. The second confrontation took place in the vicinity of the town of Tskhinvali. There unknown people carried out an attack on neighboring villages. The town itself was fired upon. According to unconfirmed data, 24 houses were burned down, two people died, and around 10 were wounded. Sigua regarded these actions as a provocation against the Military Council and the provisional government of the Republic of Georgia.

Touching on the issue of relations with the neighboring Chechen Republic, Sigua said that he had a meeting with representatives of General Dudayev this morning and that issues relating to the confrontation between the two republics will be resolved soon.

A decision of the provisional government with regard to increasing pensions by 100 percent in connection with the liberalization of prices was published on 14 January. Grants to students of higher and secondary technical educational establishments also will be increased by 100 percent. Salaries of the workers of budget organizations in all spheres will be raised twofold.

Last night two buses carrying people of Armenian nationality were stopped in the area of the town of Zugdidi. They were on their way from Adler to Armenia. They were stopped by former President Gamsakhurdia's supporters, who stated that they would let people go only after they are exchanged for Gamsakhurdia and Deputy Gelanzya. The Military Council and the provisional government regard this as violence.

A delegation of the Republic of Georgia flew to Armenia today. They had a meeting with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and defined all issues relating to Gamsakhurdia's stay in Armenia more precisely. Procurator-General Vakhtang Razmadze, who spoke at the news conference, confirmed that criminal proceedings have been instituted against Zviad Gamsakhurdia. He is charged in accordance with Article 96, embezzlement of state funds on an especially large scale; Article 75, incitement of ethnic strife; Article 86, misuse of office; and Article 257 of the Criminal Code of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, destruction of historical and architectural monuments. Vakhtang Razmadze cited numerous examples when millions of rubles were withdrawn from branches of the State Bank of the Republic of Georgia simply on Gamsakhurdia's orders without any documents. No one knows what the funds were spent on.

Gamsakhurdia Rallies in Abkhazia 'Every Day'

AU1401182692 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network
in Georgian 1400 GMT 14 Jan

[Announcer-read telephone report from Sukhumi correspondent Tengiz Pachkoria]

[Text] Every day rallies are taking place in Sukhumi in support of the former president. It is primarily (?representatives) of the Georgian people who are taking part in the rallies. The participants condemn the resolution of political problems by military means and call for mass civil disobedience against the new leaders of the Republic of Georgia. Approximately 2,000 people are participating in the rallies.

A strike committee has been formed in Sukhumi. There have been no trains to Tbilisi now for a week. There are no flights to Tbilisi from the Sukhumi airport. For technical reasons, there have been no Georgian Television programs for four days. Abkhazia is not receiving newspapers from Tbilisi and Moscow. Sources of information have been restricted. The people receive information from central and Russian Television and from Moscow and foreign radio stations.

Daily rallies in support of the former president are also taking place in Ochamchire, Gali, Gulripshi, and Gagra.

It is necessary to point out that in Sukhumi and generally in Abkhazia, the Abkhaz people are mostly neutral. The majority of the Russian people in the region hold the same view, although one group is taking part in the rallies in support of the president.

Today a statement signed by a large group of Georgian deputies from the Abkhaz Supreme Council was published in the Abkhaz newspaper ABKHAZETIS KHMA. They are demanding the return of the former president.

As regards the [word indistinct] opposition organizations, they are evaluating the situation that has developed in a realistic manner and are not engaging in any action. In direct conversations with representatives of the Georgian people, different views have been expressed.

Recently a meeting was held in the Abkhaz Supreme Council building between members of the Presidium of the Abkhaz Supreme Council and representatives of regional organizations of various political parties active in Abkhazia. Vladislav Ardzinba [chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Council] expressed the view that mass rallies and other demonstrations could lead to destabilization in Abkhazia.

Yesterday in the village of [word indistinct] in Gulripshi rayon, more than 300 criminals escaped from the investigation cell holding 350 persons. The law enforcement organs are taking measures to capture the prisoners.

Today it was stated at a rally in Sukhumi that it is not essential for the Georgian Supreme Council meeting to be held in Tbilisi. It could be held in another town. One of the speakers, Zurab Kvaratskhelia, a member of the board of the Abkhaz regional organization of the Georgian Helsinki Union, pointed out that certain forces in Armenia are (?creating) difficult living conditions for Zviad Gamsakhurdia. [word indistinct] pointed out that one (?pig) was sold to him for 4,000 rubles. It was also

stated that the opposition in Armenia carrying out actions in Yerevan against the president is connected to the Georgian opposition.

Attempt Made for Gamsakhurdia Asylum in France

LD1401183492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to the INFORM-EKSPRESS agency, Medeya Tumanishvili, chairman of the Georgian Commission for Foreign Relations, has arrived in Paris in order to obtain political asylum for Zviad Gamsakhurdia through the mediation of Georgian expatriates.

Jaba Ioseliani, member of the Georgian Military Council, has told correspondents about the movements of armed supporters of Gamsakhurdia in Georgia's western regions.

Weapons Reportedly Bought From Soviet Army

OW1401180292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the eve of armed clashes in Tbilisi Georgia's former government led by Zviad Gamsakhurdia allocated about 1 mln [million] rbl [rubles] for arms purchases, ex-Deputy Defense Minister Besik Kutateladze told newsmen. According to him, weapons were bought from Soviet army units stationed outside Georgia. Not only ordinary firearms but also armored vehicles were bought, said B. Kutateladze.

As soon as armed clashes began in Tbilisi between Gamsakhurdia's supporters and the opposition, T. Kutateladze [name as received] called for reconciliation for which Z. Gamsakhurdia labelled him a traitor.

Casualties in S. Ossetia; Tskhinval Blockaded

LD1401151692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1105 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 14 Jan (TASS)—Two people have died and 12 have been injured during Alazan rocket attacks against the rayon center of Znaur and the village of Dnis (South Ossetia) from the Georgian villages of Eredvi, Ksuisi, and Disevi. Approximately 80 rockets were fired at the Ossetian settlements. Considerable damage was inflicted on houses and economic installations.

In general, the situation in South Ossetia remains extremely tense, a TASS correspondent was told at the Information Committee Press Center. In the opinion of local observers, the instability of the situation is explained by the fact that there are still quite a few

Georgian armed units operating in certain population centers in Tskhinvalskiy and Znaurskiy Rayons.

The situation in South Ossetia is made considerably more complex by the fact that its capital, Tskhinval, remains encircled by an economic, energy, and transportation blockade. Residential areas again are cut off from Georgia's unified power grid. No gas or water is being received, and houses and public buildings are not being heated. According to Irina Gugkayeva, a South Ossetian radio correspondent who has just returned from Tskhinval, the children and old people are suffering most. Many residents at the home for labor veterans and invalids are ill and some have died of hypothermia.

There is a catastrophic shortage of food, medicine, and essentials in Tskhinval. All roads from Tskhinval that pass through Georgian villages are still in the hands of gunmen. Humanitarian aid from Vladikavkaz arrives via the winding snow- and ice-covered 28-kilometer road through the village of Zar with the help of cross-country vehicles and armored personnel carriers. The main Dzhava-Tskhinval road is closed.

Congress Wants Parliamentary Functions

LD1401225792 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] The presidium of the Georgian National Congress has come out in favor of the idea that in the conditions of crisis the functions of the effectively unviable parliament should be taken over by the congress. This was stated at the sitting of the presidium. The Georgian National Congress represents the most important parties that opposed Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

New Leadership Doubles Pensions, State Salaries

LD1401192492 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 14 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi January 14 TASS—The new Georgian leadership has taken the first step toward upgrading the living standards of its population.

Pensions, scholarships, as well as wages and salaries paid from the republican budget, will be doubled on January 15.

Recent Georgian Developments, Future Viewed

PM1401161192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Besik Urigashvili report: "God Only Knows What Will Happen in Georgia Tomorrow"]

[Text] Tbilisi—On 11 January the weather deteriorated sharply in the region of the Rikotskiy Range, which separates West and East Georgia. A snowfall and wind

made the road pass almost impassable. On the same day, in the city of Khobi, in the west of Georgia, they buried a regional prefect who died during the clashes in Tbilisi. Gamsakhurdia's supporters summoned all people of like mind to the funeral, evidently planning a grand demonstration in support of the overthrown president. But the grand demonstration did not happen. No more than 3,000 people gathered.

Here, in Khobi, it has come to light that a committee of national disobedience has been set up in the Mingrelian regions of West Georgia. Valter Shurgaya, a deputy of the still dissolved Georgian Supreme Council, has been elected its chairman. According to Shurgaya, the people who have acceded to power in Tbilisi are bandits and criminals, something like a junta of the military and the mafiosi. He said that the entire population of Mingrelia is under arms, but people are arming themselves only for purposes of defense against encroachments by the cut-throats of the Military Council. Shurgaya confirmed in conversation with us that the railroad has been cut in the city of Samtredia on the initiative of the committee of national disobedience. Well, a railroad blockade is a favorite method of the former president's supporters and even a kind of symbol of their current policy. It is known that Georgia incurred direct losses alone of 400 million rubles as a result of the absurd self-blockading of the railroad in the region of Samtredia, which was initiated by the authorities last April.

"What happened in Tbilisi is armed violence by the minority against the majority," Shurgaya believes. "There cannot be a nationwide uprising within the confines of a single city avenue. But soon the whole of Georgia really will rise up. Already 100,000-strong rallies are being held in Tbilisi..."

Whereas it is still possible to argue about the assessment of what happened in the recent past, Shurgaya sees the present day the way he wants to see it. His forecast that the whole of Georgia will soon rise up is dubious, to put it mildly. He overstated by approximately 100 times the estimate of the president's supporters rallying in the Georgian capital. Shurgaya is undoubtedly right about one thing: The power of the Military Council and the new government does not extend to the Mingrelian regions of Georgia. They are still governed by prefects appointed by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, although they have been stripped of all power by the new authorities. This circumstance causes unfeigned alarm in many people in Tbilisi. Some see what is happening as a threat of ethnic and parochial separatism. Tbilisi politicians are wondering why people precisely in Mingrelia so zealously supported and still support Gamsakhurdia and his policy—an overtly strong-arm, populist, nervous-hysterical policy. It is flippant to explain this only with reference to the fact that Gamsakhurdia is an ethnic Mingrelian. Many of the new leaders, including Sigua, premier of the provisional government, are also natives of Mingrelia. Talk of the Mingrelian regions' special clan interests in Gamsakhurdia's government is also unsubstantiated.

Yes, there is undoubtedly a definite difference between the mentality of Western and Eastern Georgians, between the mentality of the Mingrelians, who live precisely in Mingrelia, and the rest of the Georgians. But this difference is not so palpable as to be a cause of ethnic separatism at the end of the 20th century. It is hard to understand people who, because of a fanatical love for one person, gradually push a people onto this path. Today Gamsakhurdia's supporters cannot fail to see—for this is already obvious—that the majority of the population of Georgia in the majority of regions greeted the fall of the Gamsakhurdia regime quite indifferently. A call for parochial separatism under these conditions means a call for a civil war between individual parts of Georgia. Now that the collapse of the Republic's economy is already a fait accompli and that real assistance cannot be expected from anywhere, this means one thing—an end to Georgia's future.

Meanwhile, the new authorities in Tbilisi have already outlined a conceptual program to find a way out of the very profound crisis. The priority areas are the harmonization of interethnic relations and real economic reforms. At the same time the democratization of public life goes without saying, as it were.

The hardest thing of all is to establish peace with the Ossetians. Even if there is a sincere desire for such peace on the part of the leaders of both communities. I have recently visited Georgian villages bordering on Tskhinval. People were indignant at the release of Tomez Kulumbekov, one of the leaders of the Ossetian movement, and they cursed both Gamsakhurdia and the new authorities. They said that they need just one thing—weapons to defend their own homes. They do not even want to hear of the Ossetians.

Ossetians in Tskhinval itself have the same sentiments toward Georgians. Too many people have been killed on both sides during this war, too many homes have burned

down, and too many people have been left without a roof over their heads. Awareness has been completely distorted by the war. Under these conditions the Georgian authorities will have to take very unpopular steps to settle the conflict peacefully. At present such steps are being taken both at the level of declarations and at the level of concrete actions. But will there be sufficient courage to see it through to the end, for there will be very strong pressure from opponents, reinforced by support on the part of public opinion.

As for the economic reform, Tengiz Sigua has promised that privatization will begin as early as February and land reform a little later. But political stability, at least, is needed for economic transformations. It does not yet exist. There is still a state of emergency in Tbilisi.

It also has not yet been possible to gather a deputies' quorum for the transfer of supreme power from the Military Council to the people's legitimate elected representatives. Deputies of the former ruling bloc are not at present particularly burning with a desire to participate in this process. Under such conditions the initiative will probably be taken by the political parties which will form the provisional constituent assembly, to which supreme power will pass before the parliamentary elections. However, other options also cannot be ruled out. Political life in Georgia today is as unpredictable as it is eclectic.

But almost all the political forces agree on one thing. Georgia must undoubtedly become a democratic state. At the same time it must be unified and indivisible. Georgia is a very small country to be divided into parts.

On the photograph, carried by SAKINFORM-TASS, you see Tbilisi's central avenue. The normal rhythm of life is being reestablished after two weeks of fighting. Rustaveli Avenue has been cleared of smashed vehicles, and all armored hardware and the rocket-artillery systems have been pulled out of the zone of combat operations to the bases. Repairs to the trolleybus line, damaged by firing, have begun.

Estonia

Russian Foreign Minister Begins Working Visit

Arrives, Discusses Troop Withdrawal

LD1401234292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2200 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Tallinn from Kaliningrad today. He held meetings with Lennart Meri, minister of foreign affairs of the Estonian Republic, Edgar Savisaar, head of government, and deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet representing the Russian community in Estonia. Today Kozyrev is leaving for Bonn. Right before his flight he spoke with Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic.

The Russian and Estonian ministers exchanged documents confirming the ratification by the sides of the treaty on the fundamentals of interstate relations between Russia and Estonia. It was signed on January 12 a year ago, during Boris Yeltsin's visit to the Estonian republic. The subjects under discussion at the current negotiations and talks were the withdrawal of the sub-units of the former Union's armed forces from Estonia, prospects for further cooperation, arrangement of humanitarian contacts and observation of human rights.

As stated at the Estonian Republic's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kozyrev has acknowledged that the military units stationed in Estonia are a foreign body. But he also noted that this abnormal situation is also affecting the interests of Russia. He let it be known that this is the legacy of the already non-existent Soviet Union. But as the successor of the USSR, Russia understands the need for unconditional withdrawal from Estonia of the whole contingent of the armed forces of the current Commonwealth of the Independent States [CIS]. Kozyrev stated that before flying out of Moscow, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the CIS supreme commander in chief, had assured him that all tactical nuclear weapons had already been withdrawn from Estonia.

Observers note the importance of another aspect of the Tallinn meetings today. It was deemed necessary to work out a schedule for a new round of the talks between delegations of the two states which Estonia had begun with a delegation of the former Union.

Communique Issued

LD1501093992 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0020 GMT 15 Jan 92

["Communique on the visit to Estonia by the Russian foreign minister"—TASS headline]

[Text] Tallinn, 15 Jan (TASS)—On 14 January, Russian Federation Foreign Minister A.V. Kozyrev was on a working visit to the Estonian Republic at the invitation of the Estonian Government.

During the visit, Kozyrev held meetings with A. Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and with E. Savisaar, chairman of the government.

Kozyrev also held talks with Estonian Foreign Minister L. Meri.

Kozyrev and Meri stressed the importance of the ratification of a treaty on the foundations for interstate relations between the Russian Federation and the Estonian Republic. On coming into force, this will raise relations between Russia and Estonia to a qualitatively new level and create a favorable legal basis for their further development. In connection with this, the Estonian side was handed drafts for:

- A consular convention;
- A treaty on settling citizenship matters;
- A treaty on cooperation aimed at guaranteeing protection for the rights of minorities;
- A treaty on legal aid for civil and criminal cases.

Mutual aspiration to accelerate the process of extending bilateral relations on principles of trust and mutual understanding was expressed. It was noted that the complex set of problems in relations between Russia and Estonia demands an immediate start to wide-scale interstate talks, which should include humanitarian, economic, border and military, and political issues.

Mutual understanding of the complexity of the problems ensuing from the stay on Estonia's territory by troops of the former Soviet Union was expressed. The necessity for their phased withdrawal, taking into account the interests of mutual security and the very real problems in the social sphere, was stressed.

In connection with Estonia's concern about the possibility of tactical nuclear weapons being found on its territory, the sides again noted the assurances of the armed forces command that tactical nuclear means already have been withdrawn from Estonia as they have been from other Baltic states.

During the conversations and talks, a great coincidence in the views of Russia and Estonia on the situation in Europe and in the world was revealed. The sides are convinced that this will create good prerequisites for the constructive participation of the two states in the matter of the further development of the common European process and the strengthening of stability and cooperation.

Concludes Visit

LD1501043892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0300 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has concluded his working visit to Estonia. Andrey Kozyrev had a meeting with Supreme Council Chairman Ruutel, and Government Chairman Savisaar. He also held talks with Estonian Foreign Minister Meri. Mutual striving

toward speeding up the process of expanding bilateral relations on the principles of trust and mutual understanding was expressed. It was noted that a complicated complex of problems relating to relations between Russia and Estonia demands that large-scale interstate talks be started urgently which would include humanitarian, economic, border, and military-political issues. In the course of the talks, mutual understanding of the complexity of the problems of the former USSR was displayed. The necessity was stressed to withdraw them on a stage-by-stage basis, taking into account interests of mutual safety and the problems which exist in the social sphere.

Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Bonn on a working visit today. He will hold talks with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and have a meeting with Friedrich Boll, head of the Federal Chancellor department. It is expected that the Russian foreign minister will be received by German Federal President Richard von Weizsacker.

Bonn diplomatic circles note that talks will touch upon issues of developing bilateral relations and also problems relating to the involvement of the republics, which are Commonwealth members, in the process of preparing a conference on safety and cooperation in Europe. Issues relating to disarmament and arms control also are expected to be discussed. Incidentally, the German side is showing great interest in developing the political and economic situation in Russia and the other Commonwealth states and hopes to get topical information on this.

Ministry Recognizes Croatian Independence

OW1401165092 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1510 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [13 January] Estonia's Foreign Ministry officially recognized Croatia as an independent state and sent an appropriate note to Zagreb, the ministry's press service told BF [BALTFAX].

Estonia recognized Slovenia's independence on 25th September 1991.

Further on State of Emergency on Economy Move

OW1401220892 Moscow BALTFAX in English
2040 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian parliamentary economic commission has supported the inclusion of a draft resolution on introduction of a state of emergency in the economic sphere proposed by the Savisaar government in the session's agenda. However, the commission did not support the current draft resolution and stated that it should be revived.

The documents submitted by the government will be discussed at a meeting of the Estonian Supreme Council Wednesday.

Officials on Russian Deliveries, Shortages

OW1401170992 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1510 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [13 January] the Speaker of Estonia's parliament Arnold Ruutel sent a cable to the Russian President Boris Yeltsin, urging him to help resume fuel supplies to the republic in accordance with the bilateral trade agreement for the first quarter of this year. "I hope that you will not let the young Estonian state be brought to the brink of disaster," he said in his cable.

Estonia's Economics Minister Jaak Leimann has meanwhile described the chances for receiving fuel from Russia as very slim. According to him, only the possibility of buying fuel in Russia for hard currency is practicable. This would entail a 15% discount from Russia at the initial phase, J. Leimann said.

Under the agreement Estonia was to receive 13,000 tons of gasoline, 35,000 tons of diesel fuel and 80,000 tons of black oil in January.

However Russia has supplied only 12,000 tons of black oil, and not a single liter of gasoline or diesel fuel, said Estonia's prime minister Edgar Savisaar. Estonia's stock of black oil makes up 160,000 tons (enough for 1 month), that of coal 110,000 tons (enough till spring), that of gasoline 20,000 tons (enough for 2 weeks) and that of diesel fuel 34,000 tons (enough for 1 month), he told TV viewers on Monday.

Food shortages in Estonia are no less acute. The stock of meat in the republic makes up 1,558 tons (enough for 5 days). Besides, there are meat reserves sufficient for 3 days. The republic's butter reserves will last for 3 weeks. There is almost no cheese. The stock of wheat will last till the end of this month.

In his interview for the newspaper PAEVALEHT, Deputy Industry and Energy Minister Riho Sild warned that because of black oil shortages heat-and-power stations in Tallinn and other big cities would have to be closed. City residents, including half a million Tallinners, would have to be evacuated.

The threat of shutdown is looming not only over transport but also over the schist-mining industry which provides fuel for power plants.

Riho Sild believes that Estonia's leaders should seek to induce Russia to honor its commitments and at the same time consider the possibility of buying fuel abroad against foreign credits. Estonian timber, land and other resources could serve as guarantees for such credits.

An Estonian delegation is leaving for Brussels on Tuesday [14 January] in the hope of getting grain as aid from the European Community.

As BF [BALTFAX] has already reported, on Monday Estonia's government decided to suspend hot water supplies to Estonian households.

Lithuania

Landsbergis, Gorbunovs Issue Joint Communiqué

LD1301224392 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] A meeting was held yesterday between Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis and Anatolijs Gorbunovs, the Latvian Supreme Council chairman. A joint communiqué was adopted during the meeting.

The communiqué notes: A working meeting took place in the Lithuanian Republic on 12 January between Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis and the Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs, in which totally identical opinions emerged on the topics under discussion.

In the course of the talks, it was asserted that the countries of Northern Europe are not only friendly neighbors, as was emphasized by their decisive position during last January's tragic events in Vilnius and Riga. They are also real, wanted partners, integrating into the family of European states.

Therefore, the leaders of the Lithuanian and Latvian states consider it important to emphasize that, at the upcoming Baltic Assembly session, it would be worthwhile for the governments of both countries to discuss an appeal to the Nordic Council concerning the possibility of the admission of the Baltic States to this council.

Basing themselves upon the traditional historical neighborliness and goodwill between Lithuania and Latvia, the leaders shared the opinion that it is imperative to establish an appropriate border regime, with the possibility of the citizens of Lithuania and Latvia being able to cross this border without visas. In the interests of both nations and for the further expansion of economic and goodneighborly relations, a coordinated price and customs collection policy would be helpful.

The two countries expressed a common opinion on questions relating to the assumption of the former Soviet Union's rights, saying that neither Latvia nor Lithuania is assuming the Soviet Union's rights in the true sense of the term.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman expressed his sincere gratitude to the Latvian Supreme Council chairman for his

friendly visit to the extraordinary Lithuanian Supreme Council on the occasion of Lithuania's Freedom Defenders Day.

Landsbergis, Yeltsin Meeting Postponed

LD1501121192 Moscow TASS in English
1038 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius January 15 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin will meet Lithuanian parliamentary leader Vytautas Landsbergis on January 17, in the afternoon, instead of January 16 as was planned before, a Lithuanian parliamentary spokesman said on Wednesday [15 January].

He said the meeting was postponed by mutual agreement of both sides.

The Russian and Lithuanian leaders will discuss supplies of raw materials, food and other products to Russia and Lithuania, as well as the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Lithuania.

Further on Polish Foreign Minister's Visit

OW1401170292 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1510 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski addressed the Lithuanian parliament on Tuesday [14 January], expressing profound satisfaction with the conclusion of a declaration of friendship and cooperation between Lithuania and Poland.

The minister said that respect for human rights was a guarantor of the success of efforts to create a common political space in Europe. In his view, the declaration, which proclaimed the two countries' determination to observe human rights, was instrumental in dealing with intergovernmental problems.

K. Skubiszewski described stable Polish-Lithuanian relations as one of Warsaw's top political priorities. He expressed his country's readiness to remove all barriers to normal relations with its neighbors, and said he was very satisfied with the outcome of his visit.

Later in the day press spokesman Audrius Azubalis told the Lithuanian parliament about Mr. Skubiszewski's meeting with Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman of Lithuania's Supreme Council. He quoted the Polish official as warning the radical groups in both countries against undermining Polish-Lithuanian understanding and expressing the wish for people in two predominantly Polish districts of Lithuania—Salcininkai and Vilnius—to elect their local administrations as soon as possible. (The leadership of the Lithuanian Republic ruled to dissolve the self-government bodies in the two districts in the wake of the August coup d'état—BF [BALTFAX]).

The Polish official noted that it was no more than a wish that should not be regarded as a sign of pressure on Lithuania.

A. Azubalis said, with reference to Mr. Milewski, the Polish president's national security adviser, that Poland was ready to help Lithuania form a republican army.

Journalists were told that the date of V. Landsbergis's scheduled visit to Moscow would be revised. According to Azubalis, the visit could be expected to take place between January 16 and 18.

Aid Offered To Build Armed Forces

*LD1401233292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English
2230 GMT 14 Jan 92*

[Excerpts] The Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has declared that there are good grounds for being glad about the declaration of good-neighborly relations between Lithuania and Poland signed in Vilnius yesterday.

Speaking in the Lithuanian parliament today the Polish foreign minister said that a new political state was forming in Europe with respect for human rights being its guarantor. The declaration signed in Vilnius is based namely on the principles of the observance of human rights.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski expressed the hope that this will help solve all interstate problems. He assured that Poland was ready to remove all obstacles hampering good relations with neighbors and said that maintaining stable, good relations with Lithuania was given priority in Poland's foreign policy. [passage omitted]

In his turn, Minister of President's Office Jerzy Milewski, who is accompanying the Polish foreign minister on his trip to Lithuania, declared that Warsaw was ready to help Lithuania build its armed forces if Lithuania expressed such a wish. Today the Polish foreign minister left Vilnius for Warsaw.

Deputy Assesses Polish Declaration

*LD1501103392 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1410 GMT 13 Jan 92*

[Interview with Sajudis People's Deputy Eugenijus Petrovas by unidentified correspondent in Vilnius on 13 January on the "Government Studio" program—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] The position of Lithuanians living in Poland is a very topical issue. Many questions have been asked by Polish officials and the public figures about the situation of Poles living here in Lithuania. They have their own schools and the opportunity to use their native language in the areas where they live. They have a considerable number of newspapers and other publications. Yet, the situation of Lithuanians living in

Poland is rather difficult, especially in the Suvalkai triangle, where their rights have been very much restricted.

Therefore, I would like to ask esteemed Petrovas, since you are interested in this issue and you have visited Pusk and Suvalkai and met Lithuanians who live there, this question: What do you think about this declaration? What additional steps could be taken to defend the position of our compatriots living in Poland?

[Petrovas] The fact is that the long awaited signing of the declaration, which has been in preparation for a long time and which has caused much argument and difference of opinion, is a positive event.

Recently, however, I think this has been illustrated by the meeting with esteemed Jacek Czaputowicz a couple of weeks ago. The Polish side manifested certain efforts to assess the anti-Lithuanian press campaign over there. Signing of such a declaration, I think, offers the chance to maintain that the Polish government has given a guarantee that it has begun to take a more realistic view of these relations.

I think their visit to Lithuania helped them to understand the real situation here. The questions in the declaration related to the issue of nationality minorities also concern me.

Deputy Foreign Minister Katkus described the declaration in general terms. The document, of course, is the result of the great efforts made by their organization, the foreign ministry. About the issues of nationality minorities, however, you see, there are various opinions. I had to deal with and will likely continue to deal with these issues, so I want to say, on the occasion of the commemoration of the bloody events of 13 January, tragic days for our entire nation, that we should not forget that at that time a considerable part of the Polish community spoke out in support of the Lithuanian government and the independence aspirations of Lithuania. They said they considered themselves to be Lithuanian Poles. They wanted to be part of the future structure. At that time it was very important support. It is true, and we know it, that later, under the influence of different rather adventurist individuals and organizations, the so-called All-Union referendum was held. Looking from the side, we seem to think that this fact crossed out everything.

My meetings here with Poles allow me to take a more optimistic view of this. I think this referendum considerably misled the people. While disbanding the local councils of the Vilnius and Salcininkai rayons the Supreme Council assessed this referendum, through which they indeed misled the people. I think that this was not absolutely the opinion of the people of the Vilnius region.

I am somewhat concerned about the signing of the declaration at present. I am concerned about the part related to the issues of national minorities. I believe that all these matters should be regarded as [words indistinct]

namely, that what has been written there is a document that be a guideline for the setting up of major documents based on this declaration.

It has been mentioned there that both parties pledge to try not to introduce any demographic and ethnic alterations on the territories of the national minorities which, by the way, is an international norm. At present, international documents demand observance of this norm. I would not agree under any circumstances that, after the signing of such a declaration, we have somehow become restricted in introducing administrative and territorial alterations.

Yet there is something that gives me hope. You know that Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis recently visited Belarus and signed a communique with Belarussian Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich that stresses that both Lithuania and Belarus believe that establishing national-territorial units is unacceptable. This is the issue that causes our greatest concern here in Lithuania.

However, the signature on this document is in practical terms our statement on this, not only our statement but that of Belarus, where there is also a Polish minority of a considerable size.

We will not give our consent on issues such as these under any circumstances. We shall live according to our laws and our regulation.

However, the fact is that specific cultural and ethnic needs of Poles living in certain local areas should not be destroyed. This must be understood by every citizen of Lithuania. I say citizens because the Poles at present are also our citizens. As we know, they performed not too badly in the process of taking up the citizenship.

Going back to national minorities, I also want to say that the Polish government, having taken this step, will soon probably take another step we have been expecting, that is, the adoption on a law on nationality minorities in Poland. Lithuania has it. Some may like it, others may not like it, yet we adhere to it. Our activity can be controlled by the law on national minorities. At the moment we do not have this in Poland. When you mentioned our visit to Poland, this was what we wanted to see most of all there. We were looking for something identically corresponding, say, a Polish school in Lithuania and a Lithuanian school in Poland, and that this issue would be regulated by law on the level of governments. There is no doubt that in order to do this Poland should have a law on national minorities.

While meeting Polish representatives here recently, I had to listen to a considerable number of reproaches concerning the disbanded local councils and the so-called debate on the issue of elections. I cannot make any prognosis at the moment about how this issue will be resolved here at the Supreme Council. However, I think we must resolve this issue and remove any ambiguity. This problem is conditioned by the objectively existing

reasons and by the fact that we do not have the laws which are needed for this region as well as for all of Lithuania. At the moment, as far as I know, active work is being carried out by our Legal Matters Commission on the law concerning the right of the former members of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the CPSU and the structures of the KGB in Lithuania who did not take a direct part in the crimes to take up leading state posts and to stand for elections.

The debate on such a law and the adoption of such a law will parallel the announcement of elections. Then we will not have this vagueness which is used by some individuals and organizations in a rather adventurist way.

[Correspondent] The debate on the draft of this law is to take place during this session?

[Petrovas] That is correct. It is to be debated in this session. As far as I know, the esteemed chairman is taking care to ensure that the debate is not dragged out and that preparations move one quickly. I know that the lawyers at the Legal Matters Commission are seriously involved in this at the moment.

Vagnorius Speaks at Council on Economic Issues LD1401165192

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 1014 GMT on 14 January carries a one-hour speech, broadcast in progress, by Lithuanian Premier Vagnorius at a plenary sitting of the Lithuanian Supreme Council. Reception is poor.

Vagnorius begins by stating that the Republic's foreign policy is focussed mainly on activating economic relations with international organizations and individual states. Attention is being paid not only to Western states but also to the Eastern neighbors. An exchange of delegations with various states has taken place, he notes.

Vagnorius goes on to say that the government has adopted many decrees and regulations on economic reform. The reform itself and privatization are progressing better than in the neighboring Baltic states and in Russia.

Speaking of obstacles which make the development of economic relations with the West difficult, he says: "The first obstacle is the lagging behind the requirements of internal standards in our law on foreign investment. This scares foreign businessmen away."

He adds: "For instance, there are at present some 50 applications to invest foreign capital in Lithuania but in view of the fact that there are insufficient guarantees, in the opinion of foreign businessmen, they are waiting until we make some amendments before they make investments. A second obstacle is the obsolete Lithuanian banking system. It is not suitable for international trade relations."

Vagnorius goes on: "If in the very near future we do not find ways at any price to develop trade currency relations with other states, I say frankly we will not have money to purchase oil and other resources. Therefore I propose that special attention be paid to these problems—the development of international banking operations and amendments to the law on foreign investment".

In Vagnorius' opinion privatization is progressing well in Lithuania. A great deal of attention is being paid by the government to the conclusion of trade agreements with Western countries. About 80 percent of people in Lithuania support market economy. Almost all laws concerning the reform program have been adopted, he states.

Vagnorius continues: "A very unstable situation in our neighboring states, including Russia, made it impossible for us during the winter, when trade and economic relations are not stable, when government structures of our neighbors are not strengthened and when international settlements of accounts are difficult, to take a risk of introducing our own money. In all other points the program of economic reform is advancing virtually without delay".

According to Vagnorius, agricultural reform is somewhat lagging behind, but it should advance more speedily as the spring approaches.

Speaking of privatization in industry, Vagnorius says: "In spite of the fact that our privatization laws are rather strict, the procedures are democratic. We notice that there are attempts to evade privatization laws".

He continues: "We see very well what is happening in some local government bodies which have treated the privatization laws somewhat more freely. Abuses, bribery, and speculation have emerged there. We think that we should increase accountability for violations of privatization regulations. The government will propose how to do this".

Having described social grants and incentives in constructing apartments and houses, increasing pensions, and adjustment of the insurance system, he states: "The government is most concerned how to protect the domestic market. I do think that all deputies should think about what is happening at present in the neighboring states. For example, one liter of milk in many regions of Russia costs 15 rubles [R]. One kilogram of butter has reached astronomic figures—several hundreds of rubles, although monthly wages in Russia do not exceed R1,000. The average is R600-700.

"In such cases, when in the neighboring states because of a complete shortage of food products the prices exceed genuine market prices, it is essential to protect our domestic market from the goods being taken away. Practically, there are two ways: First, to bring our prices closer to the market prices in the neighboring state. But if in Lithuania a liter of milk costs tens of rubles and a kilogram of butter several hundred rubles, I do not know

how our people could get used to it. The second way is to limit the export of food products so that our economy is somewhat separated from the deformed Eastern market.

"We cannot allow such abnormal market prices to prevail in Lithuania. Agricultural workers, no doubt, should not think that such a situation will last for a long time. It will not continue longer than until the spring or the beginning of the summer. Then there will be a substantial drop in prices when the food market will be supplied with more products.

"At present the situation as regards the food product market in Lithuania is abnormal, and we have reached a conclusion that we can protect it by applying all the above measures at the same time, that is, releasing prices all the way but preventing them—by using economic levers—from rising to such cosmic heights; second, by restricting the transportation of animals and food products from Lithuania. This decision will be made today. The sanctions will be really very high. The third measure is that at present we buy food products by paying two-thirds of the price in rubles and one-third in general coupons. In other words, one-third of the price is subsidized. Thus we make it easier for the people to survive this complex period."

Vagnorius goes on to explain why general coupons are no longer valid in trading in industrial goods. This is because Belarus has introduced such coupons. When market prices have been introduced in Belarus and Russia, restricting the prices of our goods through coupons would mean encouraging people to take away goods to Belarus.

He continues: "We have decided that in the very near future, in winter, at a time when interstate trade relations are problematic, and when the supply of raw materials has been disturbed, we cannot introduce our own currency, we have refrained from this measure and are using general coupons to subsidize basic food products. Later, if the situation is so hopeless that we do not get raw materials and only worthless rubles come to Lithuania, if we cannot do anything else, we will simply introduce our currency."

Vagnorius goes on: "I have already mentioned that supplies from the neighboring republics, including Russia, have been disturbed. There are several reasons. First, the production of raw materials has declined. Second, in some cases Russia's economic departments are no longer in control of the situation. Third—and I do not wish to conceal it—at present those conservative forces that are seeking ways to apply political pressure through limiting economic relations are strong. But this does not mean that Lithuania will watch these processes and not take any measures in retaliation. We have sent telegrams about what would happen if oil or metal supplies to Lithuania are halted. Simply, we will not be able to generate power for Belarus and Kaliningrad. Of course, our neighbors will suffer great losses. We also informed them what will happen if we do not get metal.

Some enterprises which are monopolistic in the Soviet Union will stop. We estimated that if our five enterprises which are monopolistic to a great extent stop production, Russia would suffer losses amounting to R10 billion. But this does not mean that we are going to do this. We only informed people what would happen if supplies are stopped. Such retaliatory means are very extreme, to be applied only when we cannot do anything else".

After describing the government's budget efforts and discussing income tax and other taxes, Vagnorius says: "At present the budget deficit amounts to R5 billion roubles. Together with you, we will have to seek means how to balance the budget revenue and expenditure."

Vagnorius then touches on the problem of local governments in the country adopting their own laws contrary to the republic's laws. He says: "Of course, there are local government bodies whose leaders understand that only one policy may exist in the state, but there are some which openly ignore the laws and the decisions of the government. We have proposed that some officials should be dismissed, but this procedure is rather complex, and we will talk with you about this, but there are more than five local councils where the situation is critical. As democracy has not yet reached the level where people elected to local councils should feel responsible to their residents and to the republican government, they do not feel subordinate to anyone, either people or government. We must solve this problem as soon as possible. It will be very difficult to correct it later."

Vagnorius goes on to say that as very many new laws are being passed in the republic, some of them may be contrary to previously adopted laws, and therefore some means of coordinating laws should be established. He continues: "Today I can boldly repeat—and one must be reconciled to this—that the situation is also changing in the political aspect. I am not afraid to repeat that in the Supreme Council the former minority is gradually becoming a majority. It has completely taken over the initiative in the legislation. Maybe this is normal, I have nothing to say in this respect, but we simply must understand that people who hold the initiative in their hands must also be responsible for the decisions. They must feel responsibility. I think that the opposition which was used to inertia, as the saying goes, put the spanner in the works, sometimes forgetting themselves and being the initiators, and sometimes making decisions basically contrary to other laws and our interests. Therefore the Supreme Council should decide what it intends to do, whether it intends to allow the government to work, whether it wishes to have another government. But we must have a universally acknowledged order of governing the state," Vagnorius concludes.

Further on Address

OW1401215992 Moscow BALTFAX in English
2040 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking in parliament January 14 Lithuanian Premier Gediminas Vagnorius said that the formation of a shadow Cabinet and a normal opposition would improve the government's work.

Commenting on the course of economic reform in the republic, Vagnorius stressed the need "to soften" Lithuanian laws with regard to foreign investment. He said the Lithuanian government has received about 50 applications from foreign partners. However, "these deals do not continue, since there are no guarantees."

The Premier said the banking system of the republic is also not perfect. In particular, it cannot permit international banking transfer and "nobody wants to make deposits in cash."

Touching upon the privatization problem, Vagnorius said that so far facilities worth 1 billion roubles have been privatized in Lithuania. The government intends to carry out the privatization plan by 1/4 in 1992.

Vagnorius explained slow pace of the privatization by the fact that facilities are bought for investment cheques, not for cash due to the weakness of the ruble.

He said the government plans to receive 4 billion roubles from the population as a result of the privatization.

Entry of Additional Military Forces Banned

PM1401110392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 92 p 1

[Untitled TASS-PRAVDA report under the "Newsbeat" rubric]

[Text] New recruits drafted for military service and additional forces of the former USSR Army can only be brought onto the territory of the Lithuanian Republic with the permission of the Lithuanian Government. In the event of any violation of this ban, the Lithuanian Republic Territorial Protection Ministry will be forced to apply sanctions.

Landsbergis Addresses Vilnius Rally 13 Jan

LD1301144592 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 0000 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Speech by Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis addressing rally at the Supreme Council building in Vilnius marking the first anniversary of the 12-13 January 1991 attack on the Vilnius radio and television complex—live].

[Text] Dear and close people, we assemble tonight to recall the events of a year ago and the heroism, the sacrifices and the martyrs. We heard holy mass by the tower. We bowed and bent our heads over the graves of those heroes, at all those places where innocent blood was spilled.

We see that night of one year ago as a tragic and heroic event. Because of it Lithuania is unbroken and has not been forced to its knees before Satan's altar. Not only Lithuania has survived and defended itself. According to what was said today in this building by Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatoliy Gorbunovs, at that time Lithuania was defending Latvia, Estonia and Russia.

Everything that guided us throughout the 50 years before 11 March and in its aftermath also guided us toward a resolution of the freedom struggle. We have accomplished what we had to do. We have defended what had to be defended. We could not have accomplished this single-handedly. Neither we the deputies nor you could have accomplished this on our own unless we formed your authorized government to proclaim on your behalf your will to have an independent state.

That is why you came then, at the sight of danger, to support us and to protect your homeland.

Together, we regained and restored independence. We possess it together. We want to remain together. We do not want to disperse, even on this late night.

The bonfires burn as they did then. Our hearts are warm again. We remember and we thank those who enlightened our resolve with the goodness and wisdom of their spirit—Vincent Cardinal Sladkevicius and all the Lithuanian Catholic bishops and the leader of the Orthodox Church in Lithuania [word indistinct] Chrisostom and Evangelical

Bishop Calvin and Vilnius Rabbi Smit, who even went to America to refute the lies published about Lithuania, as well as all the clergymen of all faiths and of course, to our mothers, who, just as the clergymen, never taught us evil. The path of goodness they showed us indeed became the path to Lithuania's freedom.

We have not yet finished traversing our path. They will yet push us off it into the swamps. [passage indistinct] Politicians will try to exploit these difficulties. We will sometimes tend to judge our neighbor too swiftly and to condemn him instead of talking to him.

Let us reflect more often on how we should speak when we do not agree. If we stand next to Loreta's, or next to the other martyrs' grave, we will find other words for each other. We will find them. This sacrifice will become even more alive and spiritually eternal, because it remains constantly among us, as a question for everyone: After all, did I not die for you?

Now, the night has turned into morning. Even in winter, the days have started to grow longer. Spring draws nearer every day. Our land will become green anew. Planting time is approaching. Let us prepare for a great mutual assistance effort, a mutual assistance effort in all of Lithuania—in all the fields of our labors. Let us continue to be together. No one will shove us from our path. No one shall take Lithuania's freedom and our truth from us.

My dear ones, I come to join you.